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9 June 1977

EAST

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1398

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

RESULTS OF GENEVA SALT TALKS WEIGHED

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 22 May 77 p 1

[Article by Janos Avar, Geneva, 21 May: "Geneva Clocks"]

[Text] Wherever one stands in Geneva, or almost any other Swiss city, one hardly needs to turn one's head for one's glance to fall on at least one clock. If nowhere else then in the displays of the innumerable clock shops, most of which have an electric clock as a sign. There is something elegant in the fact that the SALT talks, which demand such awesome precision, are taking place in the city of precise clocks. And in the fact that just here Gromyko and Vance have tried to synchronize the clock of detente to the time zone which has become customary in recent years.

To be in Geneva is always to know what the clock is striking. Wednesday morning, when Gromyko and Vance met for the first time, the clock of detente was a bit slow. By Saturday morning the hands had been set forward. But this does not mean that daylight saving time has been established in world politics. The atmosphere has improved much as compared to the end of March and the temperature of relations between the two great powers "corresponds to the season," but this, it would be wrong to deny it, is only a relative achievement. In March, unfortunately, we got into a "winter time zone." There was a correction in Geneva. To put it with the precision worthy of the place: The adjustment has been made.

The Geneva communique consists only of two sparsely typed pages and the foreign ministers, in keeping with the traditions of their profession, did not go much beyond the carefully chosen formulations of the communique in their statements. The SALT talks are continuing; the positions are closer together in a few questions unresolved earlier; the two Great powers are prepared for joint action in the matter of the Middle East. Of course, we might say more skeptically that there are still great differences between Moscow and Washington in a number of essential questions of a SALT agreement; and the unilateral Middle East diplomatic tactics have only been put on the same level as joint efforts have not been subordinated to them.

But the journalists attending the Vance press conference in the Intercontinental Hotel in Geneva underlined, circled or supplied exclamation points for every

sentence and even word of the laconic communique which could be read in neighboring columns. The text states that "certain progress" was made and everyone knows that such words cannot be extracted from diplomats if they do not see sufficient cause for them. Listening most attentively, those trying to wring these two words out suffered when Andrey Gromyko would not speak them. The American journalists sweated the unfortunate spokesman of the State Department for 3 days but got no further than the qualification "businesslike." Friday evening Vance was almost bursting with joy when, returning from Gromyko, he could use the word "useful." Indeed, he even added "very useful."

Many have already written much about the maddening way in which the arms race is a "law unto itself" and it is perhaps for this reason that it is reassuring that the diplomats discussing arms limitations follow a sober command to treat words and definitions carefully. And if every technical innovation in the arms race steps up the pace it is consoling to know that even in the nuclear age the necessity for discussion cannot be neglected. One of Brecht's heroes comes to mind with the paradoxical sounding statement that: "The temptation to do good is horrible."

Of course, prestige is also a law in diplomacy. The attempt to do what the English so tellingly call "saving face." There can be no debating that in these weeks the Carter government has learned to its own hurt how difficult it is, if you please, to rediscover the smiling face of detente. A mutual smile and not a distorted grin for the applause of a dubious public. In these Geneva days a significant portion of the American press detachment has persistently demanded an accounting from Vance and his spokesman for the positions of March.

There is no sense in following our American colleagues in this. Politics is the art of accommodation and the true measure of perfection is accommodation to the constantly changing facts of world politics. For this reason "compromise" is a very good word. A readiness to compromise is really a sign of strength and not of weakness and this fundamental truth is distorted by the unreasonable attempt to save prestige in the wake of a mistaken tactic. And, of course, the logic of competition can have a distorting effect too. Whether the subject be strategic arms limitations or the Middle East the globe is small for the weapons systems of today and even their more modest versions have outgrown the dimensions of the Middle East. And the great powers, in so far as they can soberly measure their individual and common interests, have actually outgrown the age of arms competition. The SALT agreement, the frameworks about which Vance spoke in Geneva, the principles of Vladivostok on which the coming agreement must be based all reflect this community of interest. As does the developing understanding of the two great powers about the necessity of a Middle East settlement, the understanding that without cooperation the most dangerous crisis point of our Earth today cannot be eliminated.

Vance used the word "blending" instead of compromise. It would be foolish to analyze the blend into its constituent parts and weigh them separately, especially if it accelerated the creation of catalysts for discussions with results similar to those of Geneva. The logic of competition dictates this. The final result, the effectiveness of the blend in the value system of co-operation, is the standard for judgement.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CEAUSESCU TOAST AT KATOWICE OFFICIAL LUNCHEON

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 May 77 p 2 AU

[Text of toast proposed by President Nicolae Ceausescu at official luncheon given in his honor by the first secretary of the Katowice Voivodship Party Committee, Zdzislaw Grudzien, on 19 May 1977]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Gierek, esteemed Comrade Jablonski, esteemed Comrade Grudzien, dear comrades and friends, once again I want to express our thanks for the warm welcome given to us in Katowice, at the iron and steel combine and at the Romanian-Polish friendship meeting, as well as for the words addressed here to the Romanian people by comrade first secretary of this voivodship.

Once again I want to convey to you, the entire party-state aktiv, to the iron and steel workers and miners, and all people our greetings and good wishes, as well as those of the Romanian people.

It has given us special pleasure that during this visit we have had the opportunity to visit Comrade Gierek's native town, to be near the mine in which he worked, and whose party organization he still is a member. Thus we have understood better the close links between the first secretary and the workers class, between the party and the workers class.

We know that your voivodship is one of the old industrial centers of Poland. A large iron and steel mill is being built now that will undoubtedly greatly change the image of the voivodship, thus also playing an important role in socialist Poland's entire life.

We have discussed cooperation between the Romanian and Polish miners. I hope that closer cooperation will be established between the Katowice Combine and the Galati Iron and Steel Mill. I hope that Comrade Gierek will agree that a party delegation, a delegation of miners and iron and steel workers, led by the First Secretary of the Voivodship, may visit Romania to directly contribute to achieving closer cooperation.

Once again I wish you, the party-state aktiv, the communists workers and all citizens in this voivodship successes in fulfilling the economic development plan and in implementing the Seventh PZPR Congress decisions, thus making a valuable contribution to Poland's development and to the well-being and happiness of all people.

I want to raise this glass to the lasting friendship between the Romanian workers class and the Polish workers class, between the Romanian communists and the Polish communists and between the Romanian people and the Polish people.

To the health of Comrade Gierek and Mrs Gierek!

To the health of Comrade Jablonski!

To the health of Comrade First Secretary of the Voivodship!

To the health of you all! (loud, prolonged applause)

CSO: 2700

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EDITORIAL DISCUSSES CASE OF GABRIEL CHILDREN

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 14 May 77 p 2

[Article by Laszlo Bogos: "Slapping the Face of Maternal Rights--the Gabriel Children"]

[Text] The other day hundreds of thousands were able to engrave into their memories Mrs Vlasta Gabrielova-Zludkynova, who also appeared on the screens of Hungarian television, and who now for 8 years has been fighting to get back her two children--Vlasta and Bedrich--who were taken to the United States, and who at the end of April wrote an open letter to President Jimmy Carter in the interest of her children.

The 6-year-old Vlasta and the 5-year-old Bedrich were taken by Bedrich Gabriel, who was leaving his homeland, Czechoslovakia, in August 1968, and who after a brief stay in West Germany settled in the United States, in the [city of] Yucaipa in California near his mother, Anna Oggendorf, who had remarried. One-half year later the children's father died, and their grandmother turned the children over to the care of the county child welfare agency. Thus the two children came to live with the Smith family. The mother, deprived of her children, began the battle in 1969 for [custody of] the children, Vlasta and Bedrich, who were in a foreign country with a family of strangers. The custody authority in San Bernardino found the mother's rightful claim proper in November 1970 and decided that the Gabriel children were to be returned to their mother.

But the reactionary American political circles frustrated the carrying out of the fair decision; they pressured the San Bernardino court and after the 1972 comedy trial lasting several weeks, the court refused Vlasta Gabrielova-Zludkynova's request, denying the children's return to their homeland and to their mother. The goals of the court comedy organized in San Bernardino, California, were dark political goals--to slander socialist Czechoslovakia and not to validate a mother's most sacred rights. Referring to this, the woman wrote the following to President Carter in an open letter. "The main characteristics of these court trials were that in reality they did not keep in mind the welfare and happiness of my children; nor did they

bear in mind the mother's right. They used the whole thing to evaluate in a prejudiced way the social and political conditions in Czechoslovakia. In this situation the San Bernardino court made a decision incomprehensible and unacceptable to me: it forbade the children's return to their homeland, and thus permanently tore them away from me, their mother."

The true goal of the California trial is also illuminated by the preliminary questionnaire containing 115 questions which they had Mrs Vlasta Gabrielova-Zludkynova fill out in December 1971. As evidence, here are some sample questions:

Are you or your husband a member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party or any other communist party? [Question No 29]

During the past year, how many times was your husband in church? [Question No 34]

Do you speak English fluently? [Question No 76]

If the children were to live with you, could they freely meet and talk with other people, without having to fear that the state would punish and persecute them for their experiences and observations carried from the United States? [Question No 100]

Even the few sample questions show that the American court was occupied not with insuring that the children, who have become half-orphans, and their mother, who has affection for them, might be reunited, but--as Vlasta Gabrielova-Zludkynova wrote--with evaluating a prejudicial manner the social and political conditions in socialist Czechoslovakia. Every objective person may conclude from the San Bernardino trial that the U.S. authorities consider the issue of "family unification" to be a one-way street. The U.S. and other Western authorities think that as soon as someone leaves one of the socialist countries illegally, the state is "obligated" to legally displace any other member of the family. If this is not done, they claim that the socialist countries have "violated human rights." These slanderers know very well that the socialist countries--Czechoslovakia among them--relate to the issue of family unification in a very humane way. This cannot be said about the handling of the case of the Gabriel children. The viewers of Hungarian television were convinced when Vlasta Gabrielova-Zludkynova was introduced to them that if Vlasta and Bedrick returned home, they would not be in need of anything. The California court's decision is a slap in the face of human rights, and of the mother's most sacred rights.

The mother fighting for her children wrote the following to President Carter on 25 April 1977 in an open letter: "Dear Mr President! I see no way to get my children back, unless you, using your great authority, help repair that injustice which was committed by the American court's unjust decision against me and my children." A good 2 weeks have passed since the mailing of the letter, and the occupant of the White House remains silent. This long silence is incomprehensible and unusual, when we consider that Jimmy Carter replied without delay to Sakharov, who was slandering his own country, his people. What may the people think of these two types of behavior?

ALBANIA

ROLE OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 21 Apr 77 p 2

[Article by BASHKIMI correspondent: "Scientific Studies and Research--An Integral Part of the Total Activity for Developing Our Socialist Society"]

[Text] The enlarged meeting of the assembly of the Albanian Academy of Science, which was held on 18-19 April in Tirana, analyzed the great duties and problems which arise for our science in the light of the decisions of the historic 7th congress of the party. The speeches and reports which were given both in the plenary sessions and in the sections treated many problems of the development and achievements of our science paying particular attention to the duties and the great prospects which the 7th party congress set forth in the field of science.

The struggle to ensure leadership by the party in all scientific activity, and to implement its policies and ideology faithfully is the main requirement to serve the people and socialism better.

To raise the scientific management of the economy to a higher level it is necessary that the state organs, under the leadership of the party, make more advanced demands upon science, that they utilize all the scientific possibilities and potential which they have under their jurisdiction, and that they strengthen cooperation with the institutes of the Academy of Science all the way to the nuclei of the scientific work in the districts and in the work and production centers. Science in our country now has broad fields of activity in economic problems and those of the superstructure, in technology and for the defense of the country. Our scientific workers, with the word of the party in their hearts and hand in hand with the working class and the cooperative peasants, have become active and devoted fighters for the construction of socialism and the defense of the fatherland. Their creative thinking, energy and talents also went into the important successes achieved by our working masses, under the leadership of the party, in the fields of geology and mining, metallurgy, energy and the machine industry, in securing bread grains in the country and in satisfying with our own forces the overwhelming majority of the needs of the people for mass consumer goods.

The great problems which arise from the duties of the 7th Party Congress and their implementation demand that we broaden and deepen the views on scientific work and the dissemination of science. Massive scientific experimentation is a powerful means to stimulate the creative thoughts and actions of the masses in science and in production. Therefore, institutions and centers specializing in scientific or research work must tie their activity closely to massive scientific experimentation and generalize the progressive experience and spread scientific knowledge to the masses. The form of such work, as Comrade Aleks Buda emphasized in his speech "Problems and Duties of the Development of the Sciences in the Light of the Directives of the 7th Party Congress," are not only of great economic interest, but also better response to the directives of the party and the teachings of Comrade Enver which constantly emphasize that the forward progress of our science and technology is connected to its mass character and depends on the degree of the comprehension of the technical-scientific revolution as a mass action.

The report given by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Party Congress emphasized: "The present state of development of the country and the great duties which we have before us demand that scientific studies and research be transformed into general methods so as to reach and lead each work so as to give effective aid in solving the current and future problems of building socialism and defending the fatherland." This order by Comrade Enver gives rise to the duty that scientific research work should be developed simultaneously with the duties which emerge for the Sixth Five-Year Plan and the future plan at the same time. Our scientific studies must discover trends toward objective developments, they must be farsighted. Our party has great experience in its activities to join in a dialectical manner the solution of present duties with future development, theory with practice, and general laws for development with the concrete conditions in our country.

The 7th Party Congress set the task for industry that the rapid development of industrial production demands the solution of a number of acute technical, technological, economic, and scientific problems. In this a special role will be played by geological studies and explorations which must guide the development of our industry because in this way it is possible for industry to rely on the raw materials of our country. The political understanding of these duties has had the result that thanks to the combining of scientific data with the creative thoughts of specialists and workers at the base, important geological, energy, construction and other studies with primary importance for the economy of our country have been carried out. These problems were discussed in the contributions by Eshref Pumo, Petraq Zhacka, Petrit Radovicka, and so forth.

In connection with the duties which the 7th Party Congress established to ensure the production of bread in the country through a complex and harmonious development of agricultural development on a broad front, in the meeting the need was emphasized for studies to pass from a simple arrangement of agricultural crops to establishing, in a scientific manner, crop rotation, the improvement of the effectiveness of fertilizers and their use in direct association and adaption to agricultural and soil data and the demands which each

plant has for it, the development of studies in the field of genetics, and the study of the possibilities of producing other agricultural machines and mechanisms which would work effectively under the conditions of our terrain; this would further increase the yields and lead to a proportional and harmonious development of the branches of agriculture. Lufter Xhuveli, Teki Tartari and others spoke in their talks on these present and future problems in the field of agriculture.

All the accomplishments and successes in the field of developing the productive forces and all the prospects which were set forth by the Sixth Five-Year Plan in this field are linked with the intensification of the technical-scientific revolution and with a number of other technical and technological factors but, as the meeting emphasized, we must not forget for a moment that these things are based on our socialist economic-social system, on the new socialist relationships in production, on the successful development and intensification of the ideological and cultural revolution and the tempering of our new human being. It is the duty of our scientific studies to explain from a theoretical and practical viewpoint the development and perfection of the revolutionary path of the various means of aspects of socialist relations in production. In this area political, social and economic studies serve and must serve better the work of the party to educate the communists and the masses in a revolutionary way, and to mobilize them in the struggle to accomplish the great tasks of socialist construction. For this objective to be reached quickly, the science workers must perform resolute work to assimilate better and better Marxist-Leninist theory and the method of dialectic materialism and to implement this as the sole scientific methodology in the study of every phenomenon of nature and society.

In science too, as in all the various facets of the superstructure, the class struggle is being waged with intensity on all sides. It is incumbent upon our sciences to wage a fierce struggle against the influence of idealistic and metaphysical philosophy, against bourgeois, revisionist, and old and new idealistic schools, and also against manifestations of intellectualism, technocracy, and against schematism and formalism. Our social sciences have come out in the forefront of all scientific and intellectual development in our society. Comrades Zija Xholi, Hasan Panja, and others spoke on their importance in the development of the socialist revolution under the present internal and international conditions.

The member of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party and director of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, Nexhmije Hoxha, after having highly evaluated the proceedings of the enlarged meeting of the assembly of the Academy of Sciences, touched on a number of problems which have arisen for our sciences in light of the decisions of the historic 7th Party Congress. She emphasized that our sciences, with original Albanian traits, led by Marxist-Leninist theory and the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver, relying greatly on the revolutionary experience of our working masses, have made a series of significant generalizations in the field of economic-social and political-cultural development; our sciences serve the building of socialism is our country and the revolutionary education of the masses. After

speaking on the leading role of the party in the field of science, she emphasized that the development of science is carried out through a fierce class struggle in which the sciences raise and strengthen the party character and elevate it.

Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha stressed that scientific research is inseparable from the total activity of our socialist society; our sciences must fulfill the duties in the Sixth Five-Year Plan and in the guidelines on the economic, political, ideological and national defense levels under the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade. In the center of our scientific studies, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha pointed out, must be that great principle, upon which the Sixth Five-Year Plan is based, of relying mainly and more than even on our own forces. Later she remarked on the popular class nature of our science and emphasized that an important duty of all our sciences, and particularly the social sciences, is to struggle to unmask idealist reactionary theories to be able to crush bourgeois-revisionist views theoretically and ideologically with scientific arguments.

Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha also spoke of the necessity of thoroughly studying the concepts of scientific work and the dissemination of science which by scientific experimentation and generalization of progressive experience must make its contribution to the further development of creative activity by the masses in science and production; she spoke of the great opportunities we have to strengthen and further spread scientific research work and of the duties which arise for scientific research centers, party and government organs, mass organization and other institutions all the way to every work and production center to make studies and generalizations on our revolutionary experience in socialist construction.

CSO: 2100

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

MISKA ACTIVITIES--A new drinking water main was commissioned at the Kemishtaj Cooperative, Lushnje District, on 29 May. Attending the ceremony were cooperativists, students and workers. Also present were Pali Miska, Party Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Lenka Cuko, Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Lushnje District Party Committee; Themie Thomai, Party Central Committee member and minister of agriculture; Kristo Papajani, director general of communal economy; Miti Rapo, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Lushnje District People's Council, and others. Munir Como, deputy chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council, expressed greetings to the gathering. The new drinking water main is a gift made by the party and people's regime to the cooperativists of Kemishtaj. It is proof of the great and constant care of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha to make the life of our new socialist village ever more beautiful and happier. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 29 May 77 AU]

CSO: 2100

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NEW ATTACK AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS FIGHTERS

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 4 May 77 p 3

[Article by Zdenek Hrabica and Milan Matous: "In the Costumes of Humanists"]

[Text] Let us look at some approaches typical for the tactics of the so-called fighters for human rights.

A seminar held in March 1975 in Uppsala, Sweden, put on its escutcheon the slogan "Eastern Europe and Socialism." One of the reactionaries there was Jiri Pelikan, former Czechoslovak television director and one of the zealous rightwing proponents during the 1968-1969 period of crisis in our country. Pelikan read a report in which he outlined the strategy of the so-called opposition in Eastern Europe. He tried to formulate an anti-communist program against the socialist countries, including the CSSR, for the coming years. A syllabus of his address was later published in a special bulletin by the so-called East European Sonderinfo Committee in May 1975. Among other things it contained Pelikan's description of a program to be applied against Czechoslovakia. In his words, it is a part of such tactics at the given moment that the so-called opposition forces are supposed to "insist that their work has a legal character, while referring to the existing constitution and laws...." Further on he stated that they "must appear" as if "repressive forces were applying measures and means contrary to the constitution." It is quite obvious whom Pelikan meant by those repressive forces--he was referring to the socialist state and social institutions. Furthermore, he stated that "the main expression of the opposition activity is based on protests." These recommendations made by Pelikan explicitly indicated that this involved the notorious tactics used during the period prior to February 1948. The thrust of Pelikan's advice "was not in what could be done but what could be prevented." The reactionaries always tried and still keep on trying to prevent the progressive development, economic prosperity, improvement of the living standard, the people's self-government in their socialist country. The reaction used the same methods, for instance, in its struggle against S. Allende's government in Chile. It is a ploy of the counterrevolutionary forces which are trying to disrupt and shake up the power of the revolutionary people. The same tactics proposed by Jiri Pelikan in Uppsala in 1975 were reflected in the action by the

self-appointed individuals in our country in the so-called Charter 77. Its authors posed in the guise of the so-called fighters for human rights. They made it clear how they cherished pure democracy and freedom. Their conceit and arrogance permitted them to begin suddenly posing as some sort of proponents of progress and humanism. In his interview with the West German STERN, Pavel Kohout declared on 20 January 1977: "We are fighters for human rights."

Quite recently anticommunist propaganda still maintained that peaceful coexistence was impossible without peaceful coexistence in the area of ideology. Lately the bourgeois propaganda has not only "admitted" that ideological struggle is possible but has spoken of stepping it up--however, it explains it in its own way: it alleges that it is not an ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism but, in its own words, it is a struggle "between communism and human rights." In the struggle it calls for making good use most of all of the opponents, enemies and malcontents in socialist countries.

Old Song, New Lyrics

Ostensibly, everything appears as a novelty and discovery; however, it is obvious that this is a hackneyed song which sings of the socialist world as totalitarian and of the capitalist world as one of limitless human freedom. It is remarkable to see those who are now joining this front of fighters for human rights. Let us recall: the United States has upon its conscience 3.5 million dead in Indochina and France hundreds of thousands dead in Algeria, and now they are getting involved in a new adventure of intervention in Zaire, Africa. The British need just to look around in their streets full of monumental memorials--commemorating the colonializing expeditions which proceeded for 4 centuries from the greatest colonial empire in the world; as a matter of fact, by celebrating 200 years of its independence the United States also commemorated in fact its liberation from the British colonial yoke. Great Britain's current concern for "human rights" in Northern Ireland has already cost some 1,700 lives--in addition to those tortured and maimed. Recently the neo-Nazi W. Becher, the successor to the monarch O. Habsburg, and the reactionary F. J. Strauss have joined the human rights movement; when presenting his credentials in the White House, Chile's ambassador to the United States declared that his government was promoting human rights; Chinese Maoists have spoken in support of human dignity. They and the others have shown quite a stirring concern for our "Chartists"--Hajek, Havel, Kohout, Mlynar, Kriegel, Vaculik and others. In their statements they voiced satisfaction that they were standing with them "on the same bank."

Under such circumstances one is justifiably forced to deal with the question of what has basically motivated and made possible at present such a close agreement of former antagonists, what are the real reasons for such a vociferous concern by the Western propaganda for the defense of human rights, since the proponents of such an action should not speak of the rope in the house of the hanged. Just recently the bourgeois propaganda in its struggle against the revolutionary forces and against the socialist countries was aimed at problems of the living standard and described economic conditions in the West in an idealized way. Under current conditions such an argument is hardly applicable; the economic crisis which produced millions of unemployed,

inflation, increased living costs, bankruptcy of the middle-range businessmen, depressed conditions of the youth--all that has made it difficult for the bourgeoisie to compare the world of socialism with the living standard of its citizens as it once used to do. Bourgeois propaganda, which does not find it difficult to spread outright lies and slander about the socialist world, is intimidating the Western public primarily with the communist danger, the so-called Soviet military threat, fabrications about violation of human rights in the socialist world, campaigns against the so-called Soviet infiltration, intervention in the life of the nations engaged in the struggle for national liberation are the order of the day...

To put it briefly: while during the period of relative capitalist prosperity bourgeois propaganda boasted about the superiority of capitalism over socialism, the fictitious communist threat now comes to the fore. There are intrinsic reasons for such a stepped-up anticomunist campaigns these days; as a matter of fact, that reality is explained by the proponents themselves.

Now, prior to the Belgrade meeting of the heads of governments which signed the mutual agreement--the Final Act--in Helsinki in 1975, they are claiming that they have compiled documentation on the socialist states' noncompliance with the adopted conclusions. At the same time the real reason becomes evident why bourgeois propaganda to this very day has not acquainted its own public with the contents of the Final Act and has never made it possible for its own people to understand peaceful coexistence and its basic contents.

At first the anticomunists interpreted the results of Helsinki as a one-way street favoring the socialist countries; soon they began to characterize the Final Act as an agreement which makes "liberalization" of the socialist states possible. From the viewpoint of such an interpretation the anticomunists in the West are now collecting documentation according to which the socialist states failed to fulfill their interpretation of the Helsinki agreement. Thus, it is not difficult to realize that the anticomunist campaigns concerning human rights are supposed to prepare an atmosphere advantageous for increased military budgets of the Western countries, to impede the negotiations and agreements with the socialist states, and to spread a myth about the "threat from the East."

Fear of Their Own People

Bourgeois propaganda is pussyfooting extremely cautiously around the manifestly fundamental motivation for its action--to lead the attention of its own public away from the results achieved by the congresses of the communist and workers' parties, particularly the 25th CPSU Congress and the 15th CPCZ Congress in our country. Those congresses emphasized the successful achievements in the economic, social, political and cultural development in socialist countries. The bourgeoisie is apprehensive and fearful of its own working people who are considerably impressed by such proofs. Evidently it tries to drown the effect of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution which to this day serves as the most powerful example for the working class and nations of the world. The anticomunists would also like to

paralyze the historical example of the Russian proletariat and the impact of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the capitalist part of the world, the working class in the West, on the nations and the entire developing world.

The greater the achievements of the socialist states, however, the more energy contemporary anticomunism exerts in its struggle against all progressive forces. It had done so at the moment when Marx and Engels' Manifesto of the Communist Party first appeared, at the moment when the proletarians and soldiers were attacking the Winter Palace, when the world was learning about Lenin's decrees. It is doing so to this very day. And in this struggle it is aided also by those individuals who at this time have put on the costumes of fighters for man's humanism and who are waiting on the other side of the barricades for their master's thanksgiving. It is richly given to them.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'TVORBA' ATTACKS PHILOSOPHY OF LATE JAN PATOCKA

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 17, 27 Apr 77, No 18, 4 May 77

[Two-part article by Radovan Richta, Vladimir Ruml and Jaroslav Korinek:
"Freedom Which Is at Stake"]

[27 Apr 77 pp 3-4]

[Text] The concentrated and coordinated campaign waged against the socialist countries under the headline of defense of "freedoms" and "human rights" --the whole action around Charter 77--is no more than one of the links in the anticommunist campaign unleashed in the West. In it many words about universal human values have been uttered. Considerable funds have been spent to make it look trustworthy. To its assistance were called all species of "philosophy of individual freedom" from which it was expected that it might supply theoretical and ethical arguments against the real, and in the end the only philosophy of genuine human freedom in our era, expounded by Marxism-Leninism.

History often returned to movements and individuals appearing under false banners their naked, true reflection with malice which might have been tragic but also enlightening. What we could hear and read in Western mass communications media in the past weeks provided an ugly sample of such a scene.

Nominally it was a flood of articles entitled or expressed as obituaries of Prof Patocka--one of the initiators of Charter 77 whose participation was supposed to give that whole action a semblance of reliability and philosophical depth. In reality that heap of slander and vilification of socialist Czechoslovakia had nothing in common with philosophy. At the first glance it was evident that the great majority of the authors who appeared on those scenes did not know a thing about Professor Patocka and moreover, many of them were completely ignorant as far as our country is concerned.

A reader cannot help feeling that even some bourgeois philosophers, such as P. Ricouer, who raised their voices at that occasion were much less interested in Professor Patocka's person than in the opportunity to slander the socialist Czechoslovakia. From those texts one could feel how they were

yawning with boredom when they were obliged to mention in a few lines the actual subject of Professor Patocka's philosophical work. And yet they wrote on, spouting hundreds of pages, even though of course they were not interested in Prof Patocka but in diverting attention from the depressing internal situation, from the deep economic, political, moral and ideological crises into which the forces of the bourgeois world have been gradually falling deeper and deeper; they were interested in detecting a vulnerable spot in the building of socialism, in striking the socialist Czechoslovakia, in destroying and breaking down the courage of its people who have launched a daring program of building a developed socialist society, i.e., the freest and most human society in all of human history thus far.

The most reactionary forces representing fear, hatred and shattered consciousness of society based on capitalist exploitation of man by his fellow man and the system of general venality connected with it came running to lay irreparably the products of their malice on Professor Patocka's grave. Of course--that was not unjust; he himself had asked for it.

Philosophy of the "Shattered Ones"

On the waves of the anti-Czechoslovak, anti-Soviet campaign Professor Patocka acquired gradually almost bizarre theoretical dimensions and forms: from the "peaceful man of Czechoslovak philosophy," a scholar who had never been interested in politics, up to an heir of Jan Hus (allegedly "burned at stake in Prague"), a student and successor of T. G. Masaryk and E. Benes (who allegedly committed suicide before the war), a great patriot and humanist, a fighter for democracy and even a proponent of socialism.

The world was supposed to feel wonder and indignation that our country ignored this "great philosopher" and that the state power representing the working people failed to accept his challenge to a dialog.

Under such circumstances we are forced to say that essentially nothing of the fabricated heap of legends and myths agreed with reality in this case, with the possible exception of his being well read, of his extensive knowledge acquired at several European universities and unquestionably also as a consequence of the opportunity of long years of study and research in peace which our society provided to Professor Patocka. And of course, exactly because of that trait one is immediately forced to consider: how many potentialities were destroyed here, how hollow sounds even the most laborious "observation of the world" if it evades the truth about the profound objective substance of this era; what damage may be inflicted if instead of a genuine philosophical reflection leading to an active self-assertion one haughtily places in the way of a great historical effort of one's own nation his own subject--presumably independent of realistic social subjects of the current process of transformation of the world and development of society.

The deep, all-consuming contradiction and precarious tottering between countless, variously adopted concepts which, however, could not be brought

to a unified conclusion due to a lack of realistic foundation that makes possible to establish an ideological system and to give it a genuine productive internal movement, and which therefore remained stuck in obscure suggestions, in shallow puns and in attempts to evade with the lack of real solution--that is the true picture of the philosophical works of Professor Patocka.

If a summary title could be found for him, evidently we would have to choose his own philosophical term--philosophy of the "shattered ones." It is a world view (or rather a declaration about the world) of people crushed by the realization that the social and ideological system from which they proceeded and were unable to overcome was doomed to extinction. Its defenders felt that in the thought of the old society "the feeling of security in the ultimate foundations of its existence" were collapsing. At the same time they were terrified of the progressing revolution which they interpreted as a consequence of the fact that the masses of people and modern man in general "did not accept the reality as something given and final, to which man was doomed, but as something adjustable, transposable and designated for transposition" (J. Patocka: "O smyslu dneska" [On the Meaning of the Present], Prague 1969, p 113); in the socialist revolution and building of socialism they could see but an attempt to manipulate people as objects, that is, "the scope of manipulation to which nature has already succumbed expanded also to the realm of humanity" (ibid, page 115). The proponents of philosophy of the "shattered ones" have felt the merciless pulse of the times: they were trying to adapt their philosophical means with every new step up in the development of reality and nevertheless, they could never more reach the level where they would feel secure from the "revolutionary wave" which has "engulfed us" (see the interview with Professor Patocka, FILOZOFICKY CASOPIS 5, 1967, p 594).

Professor Patocka bitterly blamed the older bourgeois philosophers--including T. G. Masaryk--for their "optimistic view of the civilization" and their "careless expressions"--such as "the decisive revolutionary crisis has already passed us" (J. Patocka: "Masaryk včera a dnes" [Masaryk Yesterday and Today], NASE DOBA 7, 1946, p 303). On the contrary, he feared again and again that the revolution was going on even with "tenacity in comparison to which World War I lagged far behind" (ibid). And thus before our eyes there appears gradually a rankled, crushing vision of our era--the era of victory of socialism--as a "time of darkness, war and death," as Patocka put it.

Many times during his lifetime those philosophers who in their search after true knowledge had worked their way to Marxism-Leninism, such as Prof L. Rieger, Prof E. Utitz, Prof J. Popelova and many others, patiently debated for long years with Professor Patocka. They were helping him find a way out from his closed, deadlocked circle and his place in the mainstream of the magnificent, momentous effort of the working people in rebuilding society on social foundations--an effort whose grasp, tenacity of purpose and discipline Patocka so much dreaded. He was far too distant from our working people's aspirations and thoughts to appreciate their proferred hand.

He remained an opponent of socialism and Marxism-Leninism. He kept sinking deeper and deeper into his inner wrath against the revolutionary transformations, although he was forced to adapt to the real development of the times and although he realized quite well that socialism represented the "determining fact and idea of the 20th century" (J. Patocka: "O smyslu dneska" [On the Meaning of the Present], Prague 1969, p 141).

Man in the World and the World of Man

Deep economic, political as well as moral tremors of the 1920's and 1930's which reflected the deadlocked general crisis of the entire capitalist social system undermined the initial certainties of the young philosopher Patocka who felt "exalted above all that was human," above the people's pains and troubles, and who declared that "it is not proper for philosophy to meddle in the struggles of nations and classes" (J. Patocka: "Teologie a filozofie" [Theology and Philosophy], CESKA MYSL, 2, 1929, p 141).

It is entirely within the logic of such an aristocratic, elitarian concept of philosophy that his shattered certainty led him to blame the world and to his corrosive skepticism concerning its future. Shortly thereafter Patocka agreed with J. Benda's "vision of a terrible future into which mankind without controls of a spiritual ideal was unavoidably drifting" (J. Patocka: "Listy o Francouzske filozofie" [Letters on French Philosophy], CESKA MYSL 4, 1929) and sided with Benda in his attack on Romain Rolland for his participation in the struggle for freedom of the working man.

This dark, conservative tone was terrified of the breakdown of the original theocentric, spiritually confined system of matters and imposed into philosophical questions about the "meaning" of all events always a new appeal for motives of the Christian spiritual tradition and for its magnificent metaphysical unity which firmly absorbed the minds of the people; that tone reappeared again and again in Patocka's method of philosophizing. That probably reflected among other things the influence of E. Radl, the only one who could be considered as J. Patocka's teacher in this country, at least as concerns his conviction that the ideals on which the modern European civilization was based have failed and that "man returned as a poor shipwreck from his crusade to conquer the world and like a titan, to overthrow God himself from his throne" (E. Radl: "Dějiny filozofie" [History of Philosophy] II, p 413).

Deep skepticism permeated Patocka's attitude to modern science which had broken the old, reliable theocentric systems of thought and by demanding transformation of the existing reality it introduced a pertinacious, revolutionary element first into the world of the productive forces and then also into social conditions. For his polemics with such demands Patocka sought fundamental arguments in E. Husserl's phenomenology and in the traditions of German "spiritual science" with its deep metaphysical and downright religious subtext. He followed all contemporary critiques of "modern science" which in the period of the open crisis of capitalism began assuming wide popularity.

Of course, Patocka never went as far as to discriminate the real historical nature of this type of science developed during the industrial revolution and containing deformations created by the century-old exploitation of science in the services of capitalism, in the interest of external subordination of the people to specific technological forms of production of the capital and to bureaucratic systems corresponding to the social economic substance of capitalism. He turned the consequent tendencies to technicism, pragmatism and utilitarianism against "modern science" in general as "technoscience," as a system of external manipulation which had lost human values. Naturally, his real target was primarily the elevating motive of science leading to the Marxist-Leninist concept which surpassed the boundaries inherent in the scientific system of the capitalist society and which created a new system of scientific thought and practice by linking the transformation of the world with the revolutionary change of society and with man's development and by uniting the entire system of special sciences with the Marxist-Leninist philosophy. To undercut such tendencies of progress—that is, in the objective sense, the basis of Patocka's endeavor to prove that the "modern science" in general has communicated for us only "a partial, not the total" foundation of reality, that it reduced the world to mechanism and that it shuffled man as an object into unreal spheres of constructed objects where the "ultimate objectives" vanished and the dialogue "of the soul with itself in its isolation" was silenced. Following the example of Husserl's late thought Patocka blamed science for having split man's world by constructing "a world of modern natural sciences" in place of "a natural world" (J. Patocka: "Prirozeny svet jako filozoficky problem" [Natural World as a Philosophical Problem], Prague 1936). Thus, modern man must ultimately live in two incompatible worlds.

Patocka stressed the "natural world" against the world of science. At the first glance it might seem that there he finally descended from his exalted position to sympathize with the simple, mundane situation of the people. In reality, however, his analyses of the "natural world," achieved by means of phenomenologic analysis and referring to intuition as a faculty permitting to grasp pure substances, on the contrary served as a proof that the simple people as well as representatives of sciences were incompetent in the area of philosophy. He again justified the need for a new, more efficient metaphysics and philosophy of subjectivism which "were creating a new world" (J. Patocka: "O spolupraci filozofie a vedy" [Concerning Cooperation of Philosophy and Science], CESKA MYSL 3-4, 1938, p 203).

Science as a Prerogative

In the spirit of attitudes which in Husserl's fashion accentuated increasingly more the exalted position of philosophy above the world, J. Patocka attempted to create a system of transcendental idealism; he attributed the unity of the world not to the material of which it is composed, but rather to "the spirit by which it was created and sustained" (J. Patocka: "Prirozeny svet jako filozoficky problem" [Natural World as a Philosophical Problem], Prague 1970, pp 68-69). In his view the philosopher's position was identical

with the position of a "transcendental observer" who represented an "autonomous subject" and who was oriented not to an empirical existence but to a transcendental preexistence. Patocka was of the opinion that he had thus created a standpoint which offered an appropriate philosophical form for conservative views of the world--a basis from which it was possible to reject the philosophical claims of the revolutionary science and revolution in society and to criticize the elemental materialism of the simple people and the common positivism of natural scientists as primitive naturalism or psychologism.

As a matter of fact, while still creating this system, Patocka was forced to deviate from that path. From the very beginning he was vacillating between Husserl's phenomenology and Heidegger's existential mythology. As long ago as in 1947 he expressed doubts about existentialism and stressed in the spirit of an orthodox Husserl follower: "I is always on the top; I is the first truth that will never vanish" (J. Patocka: "Pochybnosti o existentialismu" [Doubts About Existentialism] LISTY 3, 1947, p 361). Simultaneously however he criticized his teacher Husserl for his excessive proximity to positivism of modern natural sciences and adopted the basic motives of the same M. Heidegger before whom Husserl had explicitly warned him. Many years later Patocka explained this failure of his life's greatest experiment by that the concept of the initial transcendental subject had still been exposed to the danger of being interpreted in "the mode of existence which is inherent in mere objects" (J. Patocka: "Prirozeny svet v meditaci sveho autora po triceti letech" [Natural World in the Meditation of Its Author After 30 Years], Ibid, p 156). It is obvious that by that he meant the Marxist-Leninist concept of society and of man proceeding from the acknowledgement that the substance of objects and subjects of knowledge and transformation of the world are homogenous, and from the fact that this subject also constituted a part of the world and moreover, it was fundamentally a social phenomenon; we can understand its specifics only by analyzing social determination and social consequences of its entire activity, including scientific knowledge. However, contemporary science (as well as philosophy) is not at all a matter of an individual or of the elite of "experts" opposed by a mass of "nonexperts" as it is characterized by a common professional illusion from which J. Patocka never could free himself. On the contrary, it represents a vitally social force which may be fully unfolded only on a societywide basis and which is contiguous on the work of all the predecessors and on the cooperation of all the contemporaries. The realistic subject of scientific knowledge is not a chosen individual or a closed group of experts but the fundamental leading force of the historically determined social development of such a realistic subject in the process of the transformation of nature and development of society and man is the basic factor of really true knowledge and of really scientific philosophy.

To be sure, such a conception remained totally alien to Patocka's aristocratic individualism which could look upon the achievements of science always only from the viewpoint of private ownership, only as a privilege not accessible to all, and who therefore always regarded intellectuals as merely

privileged private "owners of the mind." However, the fact that the Marxist-Leninist conception of science has by far overcome the phenomenological approach and pointed to its shallowness and untenability has gradually asserted itself in the people's consciousness. Under the pressure of such facts Patocka sought a refuge in Heidegger's mythology of existence where he saw a philosophical protest against the comprehension of man in the total complex of his social and natural dimensions which make possible his creativity as well as his thorough development. And thus in the end Patocka's attempt for a philosophical self-reflection of the transcendental subject led to his postulate of a "communication of existences" which act as a "particle in the ocean of the being" in whose service they were (Ibid, p 234). Patocka's call for a strong and new metaphysics found its fulfillment in Heidegger's motive linking philosophical subjectivity with the movement of the shattered forces of earth and night, with the mysticism of "being until death." And precisely there Patocka sought "the place where the real drama of freedom itself was taking place."

A Democrat Against His Own Persuasion

Let us ask the following question: In what kind of freedom and what kind of rights was Professor Patocka really concerned; what kind of realistic struggle for freedom and human rights did he follow, and for whom did he claim them when he lent his name to the attacks against the country in which traditions of democracy and freedom meant something and where the basic objective of all efforts was a free life for all working people?

An uninformed reader obviously must look for the sources of inspiration in the bourgeois democratic ideals of the French revolution or at least in the ideas of liberal movements in the Anglo-Saxon countries. However, all of that was alien to Professor Patocka. He did not suffer from any illusions about bourgeois democracy and bourgeois freedoms. On the contrary, the point of departure for him was "the crisis of confidence in liberal ideals: ideals of political freedom, democracy and national self-determination" (J. Patocka: "Ideologie a zivot v ideji" [Ideology and Life in Idea], KRITICKY MESICNIK 1-2, 1946, p 9). He knew full well that "pseudoliberal ideology which is convicted as false on every step by actual acts of that society, such as mass discrimination and ruthless imperialist international policies" ruled the "latter-day bourgeois society" (J. Patocka: "O smyslu dneska" [On the Meaning of the Present], Prague 1969, p 23). He did not delude himself even about the fact that "the Western intelligentsia got used not to see anything more and anything less in liberal principles of human rights and freedoms than an ideological camouflage of bourgeois regimes and therefore did not attribute any special importance to them" (Ibid).

Of course, Patocka did not derive this knowledge so much from his disappointment that the contemporary monopolistic capital betrayed and trampled the bright ideals of freedoms and democratic rights, but rather from the fact that he had never shared similar bourgeois democratic views; he was never concerned in democratic rights of the working people and the ideal of freedom

appeared in his works merely in conjunction with the "freedom of metaphysical decision" (J. Patocka: "Masaryk včera a dnes" [Masaryk Yesterday and Today], NASE DOBA 7, 1946, p 305)--i.e., in the form of that pure "inner" concept of freedom which Marx frequently unmasked as a figment of the reactionary Christian-spiritual tradition in the German thought.

During his stay in Berlin in the 1930's Patocka witnesses Hitler's rise to power. He said later in his reminiscences about that era: "In Berlin I became 'politicized,' however, 'somewhat confusedly so ...'; nevertheless, I had seen the German so-called revolution at close range, I had seen those insurgent masses incited by a new feeling of hope, but of course, turning with extreme hostility against everything by which we were living historically and politically" (FILOZOFICKÝ CASOPIS 5, 1967, p 589).

Soon thereafter as M. Heidegger's student in Freiburg J. Patocka became acquainted with the pro-Nazi manifestoes issued by Heidegger as the university chancellor. None of that, however, prompted him to defend democracy and freedom.

On the contrary, during and after the Munich period J. Patocka drastically reviewed the concepts of bourgeois democracy. On the basis of their tragic experience millions of Czech and Slovak people realized that the bourgeoisie as a class was incapable of conducting the affairs of the country and therefore, the working people were obliged to take into their own hands the cause of freedom and democracy. Unlike them, Patocka's polemics with the whole ideology of the bourgeois republic and with the so-called democratic wing of the Czech bourgeoisie displayed obvious traces of "criticism from the right"; as J. Patocka stated in his pamphlet "Česká vzdělanost v Evropě" [Czech Education in Europe] (Prague 1939), Masaryk's conception did not "pass the test" and required "the most fundamental criticism," "because it was based ... on the conception of progressive and inevitable democratization of Europe" (p 21). "Such a concept of democratization, however, is indefinite ... Masaryk failed to come to terms with the entire extent of that problem" "The system of party democracy as established in the republic was on the whole destructive and a fiasco for all political education" (p 22), etc.

Thus, J. Patocka condemned the period of the bourgeois republic and the system of bourgeois democracy; he considered it explicitly as a period of spiritual, moral, artistic and scientific decadence as compared with the situation during the Austrian era. Against T. G. Masaryk he counterpoised E. Radl and in particular his appeal for a review of the attitude toward Germany. And against K. Čapek, I. Olbrach, M. Majerová and others of whom he spoke disdainfully as of people who could not be regarded as writers of quality he counterpoised J. Durych, who had proposed that the entire concept of Czech history be revised. At that time, in the period when freedom and independence were lost, Patocka deemed it necessary to proclaim that in the modern times the Czech nations did not follow the Hussite tradition from which it was separated by the chasm of the 17th and 18th centuries (in

Patocka's eyes the Hussite era was entirely of a doubtful value because it isolated our country from the "world effort" aimed at a great cultural synthesis towards which the church was headed at that time) and on the contrary, at the beginning of the Czech nationhood "the influence of the German cultural atmosphere was so impressive that it was nearly impossible to speak here about any cultural independence" (Ibid, p 11).

At that time Patocka was not vitally concerned in the destiny of democracy but in the problems of a "revival of Catholicism." He particularly rejoiced over the activity of "the Catholic segment of our young generation which acknowledged the motto of order and metaphysical law." Paradoxically, in precisely such a darkness he was searching for "something free" (Ibid, p 33) and therefore, it was a small wonder that at the time when the people were preparing to fight for their lost freedom, in the same year when Czech universities were closed, the university lecturer J. Patocka appealed to the Czech intelligentsia to "return again to humility and modesty" (Ibid, p 38).

J. Patocka played upon the rightwing Heideggerian strings when he accused bourgeois democracy of "rationalism" which stressed the external conditions of life, failed to offer man sufficient "internal," "organic" freedom and barred the access to the "genuine depths of human existence." He started on a reactionary, dangerous journey when he blamed bourgeois democracy for being incapable of negotiating a "contact with genuine roots of European education" and when he recommended to remedy that by realizing the "metaphysical" "organizational" character and respect for "authority which has united society" in the tradition of German spiritual science (J. Patocka: "Dvoji rozum a priroda v nemeckem osvicenstvu" [Two Kinds of Reason and Nature in German Enlightenment], Prague 1942, p 28, 30). He himself went as far as to agree with the conception according to which fascism was a legitimate successor to the German thought which progressed from classical idealism to the Nietzschean type of naturalism and "in the national socialist world view had amalgamated irrationalism of purposes with tough rationalism of means; however, we and particularly the Germans themselves are still feeling that those all are the fruits of the same tree" (Ibid, p 5).

Nobody intends to pass off anything to Patocka, however, the fact remains that at the time of great historical trials, when the democratic forces were fighting a life-or-death struggle for their survival, Patocka failed to raise his voice in support of the cause of freedom and democracy, even of the bourgeois type of freedom and democracy. The conservative reflections which he expressed at that time with superciliousness so typical for him and with a disregard for people's forces in the silence of subjugation during the protectorate era, however, certainly would not qualify him as a "reliable" and "irreconcilable" fighter for democracy and freedom.

[4 May 77 pp 4-5]

[Text] Preconditions for genuine freedom, democracy and implementation of human rights in our country developed after the liberation of Czechoslovakia

by the Soviet Army along with the revolutionary changes of society, with socialism. In the Czech and Slovak peoples who cherished those democratic freedoms this historical reality evoked respect, admiration and gratitude, a profound vital attitude to the Soviet Union.

J. Patocka, V. Cerny and others like them of course lacked reasons for such a general feeling of the people. Only thus can we explain that already in 1946 the university lecturer J. Patocka published vicious attacks against the liberating effort of the Soviet Union, comparing the Soviet people's determination to conquer fascism--the determination that naturally required supreme sacrifice from individuals--to the Nazi slogan--victory "at any price"--i.e., also "at the price of any kind of use and abuse of man" (J. Patocka: "Ideologie a zivot v ideji" [Ideology and Life in Idea], KRITICKY MESICNIK 1-2, 1946, p 11).

It is not coincidental that at that particular time and no sooner, when the fundamental democratic freedoms and human rights in our country had already been fully won and implemented, J. Patocka discovered in himself the necessity to pose a question concerning human freedoms and rights. To be sure, the real motive behind such a turnabout was not so much his positive attitude to democracy but rather his negative attitude to socialism and to the perspective of building of socialism in our country. Essentially considered--the more the capitalists were losing their freedom and right to live by exploiting others, the more firmly our new system secure the working people's rights to a free life without exploitation, the more J. Patocka kept reverting to the slogans of bourgeois democracy, freedom and rights of an individual.

As a bourgeois philosopher, of course, he was not explicitly defending freedom of the capital and did not openly oppose the new rights gained by the working people. He defended in theory the abstract bourgeois individual as a private owner "endangered" by socialization; he defended the general conditions of bourgeois life and the corresponding world view. Simultaneously he based his alleged "lack of bias" as well as his philosophical reputation on the distance between the abstract general conditions of the bourgeois way of life and the bourgeoisie's specific actions against the working people.

In reality, since the very beginning Patocka tried to portray socialism on that abstract level as a system which "regards the individual as a mere factor of the collective action whose laws are totally managing and manipulating him." Man is here "a pure object of action and organization" (ibid, p 10). He maintained that in socialism "freedom of man is something extra-human" (ibid, p 13), unreal, a mere promise of distant goals, because at present it requires a transformation of the conditions of life and self-transformation of society and man, and in general, management of social processes, which he considered as identical to a suspension of freedom of the individual.

The advance of the free building of socialist life was interpreted by Patocka as a cancellation of freedom of the individual (because it necessarily meant a defeat of his own concept of freedom which was enclosing man within the boundaries of mere "metaphysical decision"), because it meant a step forward into the sphere of transformation of the world, society and man, where according to Patocka, there was not and could not be any other free activity but "procuring" and a mechanical type of "material" activity, where man allegedly degraded himself to an "object" ignorant of freedom. And thus, still at the very beginning of our new life, J. Patocka "forbade" freedom an access to the area of building of socialism; he declared that area--entirely in the style of the Holy Inquisition--as a sphere of total bondage. Thus, in the period before February [1948] he helped supply Zenkl's reactionary propaganda with "philosophical" arguments for allegations that the spreading socialist ideology and building of socialism "must lead again and again to fascistlike attempts" (ibid, p 11).

In contrast to the Masaryk-style program of bourgeois reformism, J. Patocka advocated the purely conservative view that the afflictions of society could not be remedied by social reforms at all but solely and only by an "inner renewal." Naturally, he opposed even more the "revolutionary practice structuring ... man's whole life" (J. Patocka: "Utecha z filozofie" [Consolation of Philosophy], NASE DOBA 8, 1946, p 360). All his life he would not accept the program of building of socialism which planned the transformation of objective conditions of human life; they in turn provided a point of departure for the development of forces, abilities and activities of the working man. As a hardened bourgeois individualist he analyzed over and over Marx' basic humanistic idea that only by mediation of other people and in the end, of society as a whole, the individual could attain genuine freedom--positive freedom for his own development. In socialist conditions of people's general mutual cooperation he could see only a threat "of mutual exploitation of people" and thus, "degradation of freedom and man to mere means" (J. Patocka: "Prirozeny svet jako filozoficky problem" [Natural World as a Philosophical Problem], Prague 1970, p 228).

Thus, Patocka considered that the whole project of building a classless society could not be implemented--while it was "impossible to implement--not just because of insufficient organization but because the substance was absent" (ibid, pp 227-228) and unacceptable as well--because it allegedly destroyed that "substance," i.e., freedom of a private individual; it reputedly presumed that man could be treated as an "object among objects, a force among forces" (ibid, p 228), drove the individual from the metaphysical area "of inner freedom" and finally demanded "collective discipline" which was necessary for the fulfillment of the great structural changes in social life but which J. Patocka regarded as absolutely intolerable for a free individual. In a paroxysm of his individualistic obsession Professor Patocka wrote against socialism that a "particularly treacherous form of external control occurred in the name and under the guise of the slogan of a scientifically controlled society" (J. Patocka: "O smysl dneska" [For a Meaning of the Present], Prague 1969, p 26).

If we hear Patocka's reflections we become convinced that all his projects of a "free" activity which Patecka counterpoised against the humanistic program of building of socialism with the aid of a planned control of social processes may be reduced to a translation (into the language of religious metaphysics) of the familiar story about Baron Munchhausen pulling himself by his own pigtail out from the swamp.

Here it appears why the organizers of the provocation with "Charter 77" could use this bourgeois professor as their reliable shield: to be sure, if socialism could satisfy Patocka and fulfill freedom of an individual according to his conception, that would not concern any modifications of real conditions and the socialist society would have to give up absolutely its transformation of social conditions as well as building new conditions of a socialist life. In other words, it would have to capitulate unconditionally.

Of course, it is ridiculous to demand that a socialist country which holds the people's interests as sacred conduct a dialog about anything like that.

Speculations With the "Owners of Minds"

History of the building of socialism in our country has tested the real meaning of many ideological conceptions by confronting them with realistic socialist efforts of the working class in unity with collective farmers and socialist intelligentsia. After all, its substance could be thus examined on the basis of practical experience.

During the growing social crisis in the spring of 1968 Prof J. Patocka together with Prof V. Cerny tried to attack the Czechoslovak Academy of Science as the leading institution of scientific intelligentsia (see their "Protestni Rozklad" [Protest Resolution] published in LITERARNI LISTY of 6 May 1968, and Patocka's article on the principle of scientific conscience, published in LITERARNI LISTY of 27 June 1968). With rancor and aggressiveness which came as a surprise to many people at that time they demanded that those workers who served building of socialism be fired from their jobs--totally without regard to the guarantees of freedom and human rights. This might still have been considered as one of numerous reactionary episodes affected by Patocka's conservative conception of science or by V. Cerny's notorious hatred of socialist institutions. However, Professor Patocka himself explained later the deeper meaning of those attacks and gave that whole complicated chain of events in the 1968-1969 period an interpretation from which counterrevolutionary intentions appeared with an astonishing frankness.

In his pamphlet "O smysl dneska" [For the Meaning of the Present [Prague 1969) Professor Patocka translated his fundamental theses from the ponderous language of his aristocratic philosophy into the language of politics and social processes in general. He tried to prove that everything that makes life meaningful was now created by means of intellectual activity of

individuals--intellectuals, not by the productive work of the collective of workers and of the working people. Therefore, he set his hopes on the intelligentsia. He defined his position in society in a very typical way, as a special elite of the spirit, as a stratum of "owners of minds." Such a peculiar characteristic indicates that Patocka was not concerned in the socialist intelligentsia which understood sciences as social wealth and honestly put its creative intellectual activity in the services of the whole society. He really knew only the bourgeois intelligentsia because a long time ago he theoretically "explained" that allegedly only from the aristocratic stratum of our society "members of the strata of intellectual distinction were growing normally, as statistics and unbiased sociological reflection indicated, and even biologically (!)" and allegedly "they also had already normal intelligence" (J. Patocka: "Myslici spolecnost a jeji dnesni actualnost" [Thinking Society and Its Contemporary Meaning], KRITICKY MESICNIK 1938). Patocka totally ignored the actual reality of the social change of our intelligentsia which elevated it to an honorable place on the side of the working class, which turned it into a respectable active co-mediator of scientific-technical achievements as well as of the cultural revolution in building of socialism.

Patocka tried to give our intelligentsia a character of an esoteric elite, a bourgeois stratum bound to the conditions of private ownership and separated from the people by privileges and prerogatives of private ownership--"ownership of minds." (Of course, even there Patocka was not original: everything seemed to have been adopted basically from the thoughts of the bourgeois authors of "postindustrial society.")

In opposition to the whole development of modern science, technology and culture Professor Patocka maintained that the broad strata of the working people were merely passive onlookers in intellectual processes depending on intelligentsia. And "if they could exist at all in their numbers, if they had a certain surplus, if their health was protected, if they as a national society could feel proud of something and lean on something, then it is basically just because of the work of that stratum"--i.e., intelligentsia ("O smyslu dneska" [On the Meaning of the Present] p 48).

Professor Patocka speculated that intelligentsia would grow numerically into a "powerful and organized factor," in "the most substantive component of the working people." He expected that "a unit capable of rejecting" was being organized (*ibid*, pp 10-12) and on that basis he demanded that not the working class but the intelligentsia as the "decisive mass of the present era" take over the leading position in society and try to provide a "genuine reign of the spirit" (*ibid*, p 18).

Such an elitarian program naturally contained another complicated subtext. On the one hand, Patocka followed the reactionary Aristotelian concept of Socrates which recognized only in the "noble people" real intellect and transcendental knowledge unaccessible to the simple people, the "demos." On the other hand, Patocka did not forget here his critique of "science-technology," trusting that the mass of the intelligentsia was again dependent

on those individuals--bourgeois philosophers--who were able to "look beyond the world of science and technology" and who "understood the meaning of existence." However, what else than interests of the capital was beyond "the world of science" with which the bourgeois intelligentsia was dealing" Patocka thus remodeled in fact the Platonic hierarchic, theocratic system on a "modern" bourgeois basis and provided for it a sufficiently "democratic" front with the reference that "the interest of the stratum (understand: intelligentsia) merged with the interests of human mind" (ibid, p 10).

On such a background the events of 1968-1969 assumed a very plastic form, Patocka characterized them with the fanciful words "owners of minds are beginning to claim the rule over the world" (ibid, p 21). That phrase contained all the characteristics of Patocka's political program: bourgeois intelligentsia ("owners of minds") should knock the power out of the hands of the working class, liquidate the communist party (because for its reign it did not need "any particular, special, intervening and uncontrollable social institutions" (ibid, p 22)) and turn itself into the ruling force. Of course, the bourgeois intelligentsia appeared here in reality only as a representative of the bourgeoisie as a class in general--in the conditions of the country where (as Patocka frequently pointed out) the "bourgeois strata" were not in fact efficient enough and therefore, the "owners of minds" were forced to act as substitutes for the private owners of means of production in general. However, what else did their plans represent but a program of counterrevolution?

Although our people, the workers, farmers, intelligentsia rejected this attempt decisively, Professor Patocka tried to present it again in 1969 to our public as something that continued to be a permanent process also in the future and that was based on "objective tendencies" and therefore, had to come up again.

Moreover in fact: Patocka clothed his counterrevolutionary intentions in the robes of a special domestic messianism--a savior's mission. He took upon himself the task to prove in theory that counterrevolutionary speculations with the "owners of minds" had to develop necessarily on the ground of this country where at one time the nobility had been exterminated and where therefore the "owners of minds" together with various other owners were playing the decisive role. To those purposes he mercilessly adjusted the entire preceding development of the Czech and Slovak history. He declared that it was a "paradigmatic meaning" of the crisis which had developed in our society that here "for the first time" in the world "the owners of minds"--even for a little while--asserted themselves as the leaders of society (ibid, p 50). Therefrom he deducted a truly "far-reaching historical-philosophical perspective" based on the lunatic idea that the whole world would follow that counterrevolutionary path according to his prescription.

In that light the real background of the provocation around the so-called Charter 77 appears again before our eyes. It does not concern anything but

a continuation of the original plan: "the owners of the mind are contending for the rule over the world." They are demanding counterrevolution.

Freedom To Negate and Freedom To Create

It is quite astonishing to see all with what Patocka could agree in the course of the past decades, what he could accept and adapt to his concept of freedom! However, from the moment when on Czechoslovakia's soil a great socialist effort developed and in 30 years provided undoubtedly more positive values and more genuine rights for the working people in this country than many previous generations could comprehend, the tone of "non-conformism" and warning against "succumbing to the consciousness of the day" became visibly predominant in Patocka's attitudes (J. Patocka: "Masaryk včera a dnes" [Masaryk Yesterday and Today], NASE DOBA 7, 1946, p 305).

Although Patocka earlier did not exactly follow humanism and his thoughts on humanism were full of objections, at this time he himself ascertained that Czech humanism was split because one part (the majority) was stressing the positive earthly mission of humanistic efforts (such as Zdenek Nejedly), while the others (such as he himself) based "humanism" on religion and saw absolute explicitness that every positive proposal as well as every realistic critical motive in the given situation meant in fact a loss of freedom and objectively aided socialism. In his opinion the spirit of freedom could be preserved only in his pure, one hundred percent negativity as regards realistic socialism.

Using Heidegger's paradoxical puns, Patocka carried his metaphysical program of "freedom" ad absurdum where everything stands upside down or rather where it is demonstrated that the upside-down, perverted conception of freedom has been presented to us. Patocka pronounced building of socialism as mere "demonism of the day" which must be rejected. Moreover, he declared the struggle for peace ("peace plan of the Force") as a mere factor and form of the preparation for war and therefore, he requested that the "philosophy of the shattered ones" keep its distance from the peace effort. He maintained that in the struggle against socialism it was imperative to get rid radically of the "rule of peace, day and life in the form which has omitted death." And in that pose even "freedom from all the interests of peace, life, day became 'total freedom' for him."

If we decipher and analyze such a pose--what else can these statements mean but that the esteemed Professor Patocka tried to declare a struggle to life or death against building of socialism? How else could we interpret his words if not that this bourgeois professor has shown here his real character, the character of a class enemy? How else should we assess his deeds since he did not come here to debate with the socialist power at all but to provoke it with his intention to play into the hands of the enemies of socialism, wherever they may be.

Indeed, what is hiding behind the current campaign for "freedom" and "human rights"!

Patočka considered the detachment from the earthly, secular interests of life in the name of the struggle against socialism as a "touch with divinity" and with that "which constitutes the ultimate unity and mystery of being." What followed after his death, however, indicated that he had been in touch with completely different, very secular and very dark powers of destruction. And such a touch demonstrated his and his cohorts' ideological and moral bankruptcy.

Fortunately, the destiny of the contemporary world and life of the people in our country no longer depends on the whims of such proponents of the freedom to negate.

The people in our country which for many decades had struggled hard for the working people's freedom and democracy, for a new, socialist society, have thus developed a political acumen which permits to differentiate between the real sustaining, vital principles and the theoretical rubbish, whatever intricate forms it may assume. Not in vain has "Poučení z krizového vyvoje ve straně a společnosti" [Lessons from the Critical Development in the Party and Society] demonstrated to every honest-minded citizen of our country the necessity of continuously resisting every kind of threat to the socialist principles, even if it was hiding behind "the most attractive words and slogans." V. I. Lenin said: "Freedom is a great word, yet the working people have been robbed under the banner of freedom to work." ("Collected Works," Vol 3, p 367). It could hardly confuse anyone if the most violent attacks against the socialist reality are being waged today under the banner of freedom.

The freedom which is at stake in our time is the freedom for the millions of the working people to build purposefully their own future without man's exploitation by his fellow man, to create material and social conditions for the socialist life based on a gradual general development of forces, skills and activity of man. Complicated new problems may occur on that path, however, nothing can break the determination of the people who have realized the power of such a freedom and who can say with Lenin to its enemies: "Sure, gentlemen, you should not only demonstrate freedom but also go wherever you please, even into the swamp; moreover, we can see that your proper place is precisely in the swamp and we are willing to help as best we can to get you there. But then leave us in peace, stop preparing attacks against us and do not foul up the great word 'freedom,' because after all, we too can go 'freely' wherever we please and fight freely not only against the swamp but also against those who prefer the swamp!"

In the past years despite complicated initial conditions and constant destructive attempts on the part of the enemies, our country achieved unprecedented success in creating realistic conditions for a free activity of the people. The Central Committee of the CPCZ, headed by Comrade G. Husák, not only led the country out from a critical situation but systematically implemented the development program of the socialist democracy. Everyone who is following the expanding participation of the working people in the

political life, in the management of building and the level of the work, technical and cultural creativity must objectively recognize that never in the past the working people in Czechoslovakia enjoyed so many and so considerable freedoms and rights, so many open opportunities leading to the development of their creative forces and skills as they are enjoying today. At the same time, in the spirit of the decisions of the 15th party congress these freedoms and rights of the people are being consistently expanded. The rapid movement of the entire society and of its material technical bases evokes more and more new pioneering approaches to social life in which courageous and self-assured people--the real masters of their country--are growing up.

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EAST GERMANY

CITIZENS' AWARENESS OF SOCIALIST LAW DISCUSSED

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 31 No 9, May 77 pp 258-260

Article by Helmut Miehe, attorney, Sangerhausen, member of attorneys' committee in Halle Bezirk: "Tasks of the Attorney in Developing and Strengthening Awareness of Socialist Law of Citizens."

Text The party program passed at the Ninth SED Party Congress determines, among other things, that the education toward voluntary observation of the norms of socialist law constitutes one of the important tasks of state organs and social organizations.¹ It follows that legal education and legal propaganda as components of the overall political-ideological work must be further expanded.² This is a very exacting demand not only on all co-workers in the judicial agencies, but also on attorneys who—in the same manner as public prosecutors, judges and state notaries—take daily influence in the course of their professional duties on the development and strengthening of the working people's awareness of socialist law.

It is the task of the attorney to direct his efforts in all his professional activities toward strengthening the citizens' confidence in our judicial and other organs of state. To the citizen who comes to him for legal advice he has to explain that the judicial organs and all its personnel bear a heavy responsibility for the protection of the socialist state and social system, for the consolidation of socialist lawfulness and security in law, for the protection of the socialist property and for the preservation of the citizens' rights.

The attorney can fulfill his task as representative, advisor and helper of the citizen in all his legal affairs only then if he is constantly conscious of the educational function of the law. His advisory activity presupposes that he explains to the citizens the socialist law and that he counters the egotistical endeavors of some individuals.

By conscientiously advising and representing citizens, enterprises and institutions, who come to him for legal help, and by explaining the socialist law, the attorney makes his contribution toward enforcement of socialist lawfulness and in this way also toward the further development of the

developed socialist society. This will require that he constantly strives to maintain his political and professional qualifications, that he affirms his connection with the workers by active social activities and that he contributes to the legal education of the citizens.

Advising Citizens Who Require Legal Consultation

A great number of legal disputes or legal conflicts that the citizens refer to an attorney are settled without need to appeal to the law courts. Statistics prove that attorneys correctly realize it to be their task to use appropriate influences on the parties to a conflict to settle out of court or to find any other solution. The attorney can best fulfill his task if he receives complete and correct information from his client.

The client will proceed from the assumption that the attorney will listen patiently to his account of the matter, even though he may lose himself in trivialities or relate circumstances which have little or no significance for the evaluation of the case. It is therefore the task of the attorney by systematic questioning to induce his client to give a concentrated account of the circumstances of the case. This is frequently very difficult. The client expects understanding for his situation; it is therefore necessary to avoid remarks that may hurt his feelings or from which the client may assume that his affairs are not treated seriously enough. As important as the attorney's readiness to gather all essential information from his client, is the attorney's complete and correct legal advice to his client. In this connection it must not be overlooked that the client views the conflict from a subjective standpoint and in general expects indications that will confirm his attitude in the matter.

If there are prospects of success in his case, the client usually expects that his case be quickly brought to the law court or to any other competent institution. It is then frequently difficult to convince the client that it is an attorney's duty too, to attempt an out of court settlement of the conflict. In such cases it is essential to explain to the client that it is characteristic of our socialist legal system to solve conflicts above all by convincing arguments and in this process to utilize all social-educational possibilities.

Very frequently the attorney is more critical in evaluating the behavior of the opposing party, rather than of his own client. It impairs the educational influence if a client, despite his own objectionable behavior, can conclude from the remarks of his attorney that his actions may in no way give cause for criticism. We must therefore demand of the attorney that he points out to his client also mistakes that he, the client, has committed and that the attorney view as objectively as possible the behavior of everyone involved in the conflict. In this connection we are not unaware of the fact that a client will often suppress his own faults in his statements. This will make it more difficult to convince him of his partial or complete misjudgement of the situation. But even in cases

like these it is the attorney's duty to make it clear to his client that the rights of our citizens must not be judged in the abstract, but that rights and duties are one entity and that the rights of an individual may be enforced only if they are in harmony with the interests of the society as a whole.

It follows from these considerations that it is also the duty of the attorney in cases that seem to have no prospects at all to dissuade the client from starting a lawsuit, from appealing a decision or from submitting any other petitions. The educational effect of a procedure on the client is always called in question if applications are made that are completely without prospects of success and that are in the end confirmed as completely unreasonable by the decision of a law court or other institution. Examining a client's request as to its chances of success requires a great sense of responsibility on the part of the attorney. It is equally wrong to be too easy in advising against starting lawsuits or submitting petitions, as it is wrong to be too easy in acceding to such requests.

Practice shows, however, that there are occasionally lawsuits or petitions, which had been started or submitted with great scepticism by the attorney in view of their minimal chances of success, which then in the end, surprisingly enough, proved successful. This is particularly the case when the attorney, despite all efforts, had been able to gain only incomplete information and when during court proceedings, which offer incomparably better opportunities for a comprehensive investigation of the case, a new unforeseen situation is presented for decision. There are of course also cases where a known situation has been misjudged by the attorney.

The final decision as to whether a lawsuit should be started or a certain petition is to be submitted should therefore as a rule rest with the client himself. This opinion is particularly supported by the consideration that finally it will not be the attorney who will have to decide the lawsuit or the conflict, and that the character of his activity is rather to assist the competent organs to come to a decision by giving them a factual report and a comprehensive legal evaluation of the circumstances of the case.

It is my opinion that the educational effect and the strengthening of confidence in the socialist lawfulness are equally called in question if a client is refused legal assistance, as if, on the other hand, lawsuits are started frivolously or other petitions are submitted lightly.

There are only very few cases where all information made available by the client will allow a conclusion with absolute certainty that a lawsuit or a petition can be expected to end in success or failure. It is therefore quite essential to point out to the client the risk involved in a lawsuit, and to explain to him, why no guarantee of success can ever be given. If such advice is not given and if the client is even assured that this or that lawsuit "simply cannot be lost," and if it then appears that the situation was misjudged by the attorney, for whatsoever reasons, the

client is brought into a conflicting situation with which he alone is hardly able to cope. He is then frequently led to believe that his must be a case of miscarriage of justice.

Duties at Commencement of Legal Action and During Oral Proceedings

If the attorney decides to accede to the request of his client and start a lawsuit or submit any other kind of petition, it is essential that he states comprehensively and correctly all the information that he has been given.

The attorney's brief must reveal to his client that he has been correctly understood, that his situation of conflict has been correctly evaluated and that the purpose of the action is to seek justice. Equally important is the thorough legal evaluation of all circumstances of the case by the attorney. Part of this is the concrete reference to the legal provisions that form the basis of the claim and reference to and comment on all relevant legal decisions in the past. In complex cases reference should also be made to relevant legal literature. This not only helps the court to arrive at its decision but also increases the power of the arguments presented in the case vis-a-vis his own client as also vis-a-vis the opposite party in the suit. Briefs can be effective educationally only if they are written in a clear, easily understood language, which any citizen, not versed in legal practices, can understand without difficulties.

An equally factual approach as in the written communications should also be the order in oral proceedings. As he would listen to his own client, the attorney shall also listen to the opponent and his representative and shall objectively evaluate their arguments. Under such conditions, the opposite party to the suit will be much more receptive to any objective counterarguments.

The attorney should also not hesitate to draw his client's attention to convincing arguments of the opposite party and to advise his client, in view of certain of the counterarguments, to reconsider his own attitude. Should it become evident during the hearing of witnesses, or already during the oral proceedings, that the client had given incomplete or incorrect information and the original assessment of his chances of success is no more valid, the attorney shall be obliged to inform his client, why his case must now be judged differently and why it may be indicated, under certain circumstances, to agree to a settlement or to withdraw the suit.

If the attorney realizes, no matter at what stage of the proceedings, that his client can hardly expect a favorable decision, the attorney is correct in discussing the matter with his client. At this time, the client will be more receptive to educational influences, if offered in proper form and with necessary consistency, rather than if the original standpoint is persisted in to the last, in spite of having realized its hopelessness, and it requires the decision of the court to express the opposite standpoint and the good reasons for it.

Of a certain significance for the educational influence of the attorney's work is the logic of his briefs and of his verbal statement of the case. The contents of his pleadings or of his briefs must conclusively lead to the petition as formulated by him. Copious discussions of the object under dispute which are beside the point or which are not borne out by the evidence, have no educational value. If the argumentation ignores the result of the proceedings or of the evidence presented, and if the petition accords merely with the wishes of the client but not with the realities according to the evidence presented, this would call in question any educational effect of the proceedings. The best rhetorical performance and also passionate delivery or total involvement of the attorney during the proceedings are not capable of concealing lack of consistency or of inner logic in the statements.

It must be expected of the attorney that he give passionate and consistent expression, in a manner conforming to party doctrine, to the convictions gained as the end-result of the proceedings. All citizens involved in the proceedings must realize that the attorney's efforts have served to find the objective truth and a just decision. In his efforts to contribute to find the truth, the attorney must no overlook, however, that as representative of the interests of his client, his duties to cooperate must find their limits where the client's interests might become endangered. To exceed these limits would do harm to the confidence of all those seeking justice in the activities of our judicial authorities.

Tasks in Family Law Conflicts

For the further development and strengthening of the awareness of law among our citizens and for their education toward socialist behavioral patterns, the greatest significance must be attributed to the attorney's activities particularly in the field of family law proceedings.

Frequently, citizens who see an attorney because of marital conflicts are still very much undecided whether they want a divorce. They do not seek a lawyer's assistance only when they have decided irrevocably to seek a divorce. Occasionally they express the wish to have a discussion with their marriage partner in the presence of a lawyer in order to overcome the marital conflict. A wish of this nature expresses great confidence in the attorney. In a situation like this, the attorney should explain to both partners the meaning of the socialist laws governing marriage and the family. He should point out the social obligation to preserve marriages which have not yet lost their meaning for the marriage partners and for their children.

Frequently it is already sufficient if the attorney imparts certain information he has gained in other divorce proceedings to both marriage partners or to his client only, to promote a readiness for reconciliation. To mention the misconduct of one or the other marriage partner requires much tact and presupposes that the attorney correctly judges the mentality of the citizens involved. Using his influence for the preservation of marriages will find

its limits when it becomes apparent that both partners have lost all respect for each other and where there is no vestige of mutual affection. As long as the attorney is convinced that these necessary preconditions for the continuation of the marriage are still extant, he has to oppose the unreasonable demands of one or the other partner, as these may in certain circumstances aggravate the marital conflict.

As a rule, however, the lawyer's assistance is only requested when, in the opinion of the citizens, the marriage has become a failure. By that time most of the clients only want to learn whether their divorce suit will be successful and they will want to institute divorce proceedings. Even in these cases the attorney should take his client's request as opportunity to discuss with him comprehensively what both partners still have in common, and that in cases of marriages where there are small children it is also a question of the children's best interests. Experience has shown that the attorney's efforts at reconciliation are usually more successful as long as court proceedings have not yet started. It is more difficult after the case has been brought to the courts. The attorney should nevertheless also as a rule continue his efforts toward the preservation of marriage as principle even at the reconciliation session of the law court.

It would be wrong not to take advantage of the court's endeavors at reconciliation only because the client who is intent on divorce has declared that the circumstances of the case have been fully with his attorney and that his intention of divorce is irrevocable. The educational effect of the reconciliation session is called into question if the attorney supports his client in his preconceived idea although objectively there might still remain good preconditions for a continuation of the marriage.

There are, of course, also a great number of cases where it becomes evident, sometimes before the reconciliation session, sometimes during that session, that a marriage has lost all its sense for the marriage partners, for the children and therefore also for society, so that it will be in the interests of all concerned to dissolve the marriage. Should the attorney continue in such cases to try to influence the parties in the sense of maintaining the marriage, it would impair the confidence of those involved in our divorce law,³ which is purely oriented toward maintaining the value of the marriage bond for the personality of the marriage partners and for the children.

To be viewed as a particularly important task is the attorney's influence on his client's legal awareness when it comes to arriving at a satisfactory proposal for the education of the children. As a rule each party will assert that he or she has done everything—apart from the conflict between the marriage partners—to further the welfare of the children. Similarly, each party believes that he or she will in future be capable of bringing up the children and to provide favorable preconditions for their education. It is rather the exception if one parent shows little interest in exercising the right to educate the children.

There is particular need for an attorney to exercise his influence on his client if the custody of the children is in dispute and if it appears in the best interests of the children to give the custody to the other parent. In such cases the attorney has to help his client to comprehend all aspects of the objective conditions for the development of the children's personalities and to gain the conviction that the decision on the custody rights is a just one even if they disagree with his own propositions. It is therefore the duty of the attorney, even after the court decision has become final, to explain to his client that priority consideration is the welfare of the children and that the personal interests of his client must take second place. The client will then understand that the decision, in the final analysis, also accords with his own interests because he or she is particularly concerned for the welfare of the children.

Support Reeducation of Delinquents by Work Collectives

It conforms to the social task of the attorney to establish closer links between his activities and the activities of the working people for lawfulness and discipline, for exemplary order and security. The increasing sentencing of delinquents to punishments that do not deprive them of their freedom but give more space to social reeducation in the collectives of the working people, increases the obligation of the attorney to cooperate more in such methods of carrying out sentences within the collectives of the working people when one of his clients is concerned. Due to the special relationship of confidence between client and attorney, the latter is in a favorable position to support the educational work of the collective by pointing out the particular problems in the person of the client that has been sentenced.

The same applies in cases of rehabilitation of delinquents who have completed their terms in prison or who have been freed on probation. This orientation that a defense lawyer's task does not end when the sentence becomes final but that further help is expected of the attorney extending to the rehabilitation of the delinquent, must be realized more consistently. The convict who leaves prison needs assistance to regain a secure position in society. The attorney, whom he had selected and who enjoys his confidence, is therefore predestined to help when it comes to raising in the convict an awareness that he is a full-fledged member of society if he will in future observe the norms of our socialist society.

In the above we tried to explain the different possibilities open to an attorney to contribute to the development and strengthening the awareness of socialist law among our citizens. A great abundance of problems could be mentioned here, problems which the attorney meets in his daily practice. We would therefore welcome it if more space would be given in this periodical to the exchange of experiences between attorneys as regards their actual tasks in the realization of socialist law and in the legal education of our citizens.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. The Program of the SED, Berlin, 1976, p 43.
2. K. Sorgenicht, "Staat, Recht und Demokratie nach dem IX. Parteitag der SED." State, Law and Democracy After the Ninth SED Party Congress, Berlin, 1976, pp 134 ff.
3. Cf. "Familienrecht, Lehrbuch" Family Law, Textbook 2nd edition, Berlin, 1976, p 368.

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EAST GERMANY

CONTINUED INCREASE IN BIRTH RATE REPORTED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 21 May 77 p 8

[Text] The number of births continue to increase in the GDR. In the first quarter of 1977, 52,556 children were born, or 3,695 more than in the first quarter of 1976. Thus, the rising trend is clearly continuing: in 1976, 13,685 more births were registered than in 1975. In East Berlin this development is to a considerable extent attributed to the fact that young married couples are granted various assistance measures.

As of 1 July 1972, young married couples received loans without interest with a due-date of 8 years; loans of up to DM 5,000 to acquire an apartment and of up to DM 5,000 to finance the furniture. Upon the birth of the first child, the amount to be repaid is reduced in each case by DM 1,000; by DM 1,500 in each case upon the birth of the second child; and by DM 2,500 in each case upon the birth of the third child. From the time this regulation became effective until the end of March 1977, 377,368 such loans were made; during the same period 264,782 loans (about 70 percent) were cancelled because of the birth of children. Of this total, 81.3 percent [of waived loans] was allotted for first-born children, 17.5 percent for second children, and 1.2 percent for third children.

Since May 1976, GDR law has provided for a 6-month period of maternity leave: 6 weeks before birth and 20 weeks after birth. During this period social insurance authorities continue to pay the women their net average earnings. In addition, since 1972, women have been receiving state benefits amounting to DM 1,000 for the birth of each child.

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HUNGARY

PRESS PREPARATION FOR BELGRADE CONFERENCE NOTED

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 15 May 77 p 6

[Article by Ferenc Fabian: "World Press; 'Preview' in Belgrade; Debates and Exchanges of Opinion; Is the Third the Only True Basket?"]

[Text] If one arrives in Belgrade from Novi Sad he sees, as the train reaches the triangle of the confluence of the Sava and the Danube, the imposing New Belgrade to the right of the Yugoslav capital. Among the gigantic modern buildings on the banks of the Danube his attention will be drawn to one curious structure, resembling from a distance a great glass house, about which very active work is going on. This will be Belgrade's conference center. This is where that conference will take place which will have the task, 2 years after Helsinki, of debating: What has been achieved thus far and what remains to be done in applying the agreements of the final document.

Congratulatory Telegrams

The first phase of this conference will begin in June and the second in September but the preparations for it have already left their stamp on Belgrade. Under this heading there convened in the Yugoslav capital in the last week of April a roundtable conference of invited journalists from the countries which signed the Helsinki final document, a total of 75 journalists, to debate the role of press, radio and television in carrying out the recommendations of the document signed 2 years ago and in detente in general.

With the exception of the ministates (Andorra, Lichtenstein, San Marino, Monaco, Vaduz [sic] and the Vatican) and of Iceland and of Albania, which did not sign the Helsinki document, they came from every state of Europe and there were invited journalists from the United States of America and from Canada as well. The UN and UNESCO were represented and the significance attributed to the roundtable conference is indicated by the fact that congratulatory telegrams were received from the Yugoslav head of state Tito, from Finnish president Kekkonen and from UN First Secretary Waldheim.

The hosts invited the journalists from the various countries on a personal basis and not as delegations from the respective countries. This also found expression in the fact that the participants took their places at the conference table in alphabetical order according to their own names, not that of their countries. The organizers wanted thus to emphasize that they did not intend to give an inter-state character to the conference. They thus succeeded in making the exchange free and direct in many respects. But the hosts made no secret of the fact that they also intended the round-table conference of journalists to give a sort of preview of the inter-state discussion of the Helsinki final document beginning in June. This is why they tried to get famous, influential journalists from the several countries.

Those participating in the conference were united in the position that journalists -- whether they do their work in the columns of a newspaper, via radio or on a television screen -- have a very great political responsibility. The press, and the mass media in general, has become a great power in the true sense of the word.

The world now has 22,000 radio stations, 800 million radio receivers and 300 million television sets. Each day 8,000 dailies are published in 400 million copies. The technology for transmitting information is so developed that within 1-2 hours the entire world can be informed about some event. As a result of all this newspaper readers, radio listeners and television viewers throughout the world are subjected every hour of the day to a virtual avalanche of information. This flood of information might not help orient people; on the contrary, it confuses and oppresses them and not rarely keeps them in actual shock.

Thus the task of newspapers, radio and television is not simply to report on events, according to the great majority of those participating in the conference, but rather to a decisive degree to help people understand the facts and the events, interpret them correctly and generally orient themselves amidst the events of the world.

Thus journalists have a great task and a great responsibility. They can serve peace and trust and understanding among men and peoples or they could spread throughout the world the poison of discord and hatred among peoples.

Noteworthy in this connection was the opinion of a few journalists from capitalist countries (Austria, Holland and Italy). Without calling into doubt the power of the press they emphasized that in their case this power was in the hands of the owners of the papers, the radio and television companies and the news agencies. Thus responsibility devolved to only a limited extent on the journalists who are only common soldiers and not rarely the indentured tools of this power. There was in general a lively debate about journalistic freedom and journalistic limitations, on the one

hand, and the responsibility of the journalist on the other, the relationship of the one to the other and whether they are compatible or whether there was not a contradiction involved. All this colored and gave quality to the professional exchange: What can and must journalists do to apply the Helsinki agreements and how must they do it.

The first basket of the final document (the basic principles of peaceful coexistence, the inviolability of borders, the settlement of disputed questions by diplomatic means and prior and voluntary information on larger military maneuvers) hardly constituted a subject for debate. On the contrary, these themes were mentioned as good examples of cooperation.

There was even less debate about the second basket (trade, technical, scientific and economic cooperation and protection of the environment). But there was more discussion of Basket Three and, naturally, primarily about the exchange of information. Indeed, a few western journalists, following the efforts of the governments of some Western countries, spoke as if the Helsinki document were nothing else except just this third basket. The majority of the participants, however, including those colleagues from the socialist countries, did not agree with this view.

Conference in Tihany

It is necessary to mention here (as the daily press reported at the time) that a month earlier a conference was held at Tihany for presidents and first secretaries of the journalists' federations of the CEMA countries at the invitation of the Hungarian journalists' federation.

The opinion at the Tihany conference was unanimous: The final document is a uniform whole from which no single chapter can be ripped out independently and arbitrarily. Helsinki had before all else a political task: Security must be created in Europe; it must be prevented that any sort of force be used in inter-state relations; and it must be achieved that disputed questions should be settled in the spirit of peaceful coexistence through diplomatic discussions. On the basis thus created one can then certainly develop an atmosphere of detente and mutual trust which, naturally, will also be expressed in the free exchange of information and in ever broader cultural cooperation. Thus not only can the third basket not be ripped out of the uniform whole of the Helsinki document but also it is dependent on that atmosphere which must be developed in the spirit of Helsinki.

The socialist countries accept Basket Three in every respect and are always ready to discuss what is contained in it; all the more so since this theme was proposed by the socialist countries in the period of preparing the Helsinki document and since, for their part, they are doing the maximum for the free flow of information and for broad cultural contacts so that these can aid mutual information and better understanding of the peoples of different countries.

It is their position that the working conditions of foreign journalists making mutual visits to each others' countries must be increasingly facilitated and they must be given an opportunity to acquire many-sided information of all sorts about the country and the life of the people. But the only purpose of this can be that these journalists really inform their readers, listeners or viewers in accordance with the truth on the basis of what they actually see. They can courageously report on deficiencies and contradictions experienced also, but again on the basis of facts and reality.

But if journalists visiting socialist countries use the working conditions provided to report with ill will and not in accordance with the truth then they violate the Helsinki agreement. Those signing the document in Helsinki committed themselves to a free exchange of information but not to giving freedom for the spreading of lies.

Dutchmen in Prague

The journalists from socialist countries participating in the Belgrade roundtable conference naturally represented the position developed unitedly at Tihany. They were given great satisfaction by the fact that many Western journalists also adopted the true principle of exchange of information. This was well illustrated, for example, by the comment of a Dutch journalist. He said that recently 60 Dutch journalists accompanied the Dutch foreign minister on an official visit to Prague. The only concern of all 60 was to try to establish contact with the Czechoslovak "internal opposition." But it did not occur to one of them to ask for a statement, for example, from the host Czechoslovak foreign minister with whom their foreign minister had a useful exchange in a very good atmosphere.

In many respects this roundtable conference was a "preview" of the discussion of Helsinki which will take place in Belgrade. It indicated the debates which can be expected there but hopefully it was also a preview in regard to the common aspiration to have Belgrade defend the process of detente and give a new impulse to the realization in Belgrade of that spirit which brought results before in Helsinki.

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HUNGARY

GENERAL KOZLOV COMMENTS ON MILITARY FRIENDSHIP OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 May 77 p 2

[Article by Brig Gen Vladimir Kozlov, PhD: "The Military Friendship of Socialist Countries"]

[Text] On the invitation of Ustinov, marshal of the Soviet Union, member of the CPSU Politburo, and defense minister, our military delegation led by General Lajos Czinege, defense minister, is on an official friendly visit in the Soviet Union. The NOVOSTI news agency had the article printed below written for our editorial offices on the occasion of this visit.

The military policy of the socialist countries is an instrument designed for the protection of the workers' achievements. Its purpose is to insure the conditions for the peaceful building of socialism and communism and to prevent possible aggressions on the part of the capitalist forces. By doing so, it faithfully and consistently serves the overall peace and the security of the people, the struggles waged against aggression and force. The military policy of the socialist countries was forced upon socialism, and thus it is really a vitally important reply to the military threats of aggressive imperialism.

The military policy of the socialist countries, considering its contents, is a system of scientifically based measures that serves the defense capability of the countries. The socialist countries create their defense capabilities with the leadership of the communist parties through the joint efforts of the peoples and armies. Brezhnev pointed out last year, on 5 October, in his interview given to the French television: "We are forced to perfect our defense...because we are faced with a runaway arms race."

In characterizing the military policy of socialism, we must emphasize a series of important elements and characteristics. This policy serves the people, the defense of the workers' homeland, national independence, democratic rights, the achievements of the revolution. It is subordinated to the interests of the broadest masses, and it enjoys the constant support and direct participation of the people.

This military policy is a consistently revolutionary class policy directed exclusively against imperialism, international reaction. Its goal is to insure the people's peaceful creative work in the building of the new society, to protect the people's right to freedom, independence and social progress. This is a consistently international policy in which the national and international tasks, the national interests of the victorious proletariat and the interests of the workers of all countries join into an organic unit. Realization of the military policy--with the escalation of socialism's defense capabilities--has a directly beneficial effect on the international atmosphere; it is a decisive factor in putting the brakes on imperialism's aggressive machinations.

This policy is very fair, it is not determined by the selfish interests of the military-industrial monopolies, not by the robbing and imperialistic goals of the colonists, but it serves the just battle against aggression. Its goal is to protect the most just and most progressive social order, to aid the peoples in their battle against their oppressors and for freedom, independence and socialism.

This is a scientific, Marxist-Leninist policy. Lenin noted that politics became a science only with the appearance of Marxism, which snatched it out of chaos and deception. Science defines its force and fitness for life. The military policy of the socialist countries is characterized by a realistic approach determined by the foreign policy situation and by the country's internal condition, and the military policy is subordinated organically to the interests of socialist construction.

The above-mentioned characteristics and particulars of the military policy of the socialist countries is definitively determined by the fact that it is worked out and carried out under the immediate direction of the Communist Party, the leading team of the working class and every worker. Through scientific, Marxist-Leninist analysis the party discovers the sources of military threats, determines the method and tasks of defending socialism, and insures the people's material means and intellectual capability to carry them out.

Socialist military policy cannot be separated from the struggle the socialist community is waging for peace; this is why it enjoys the support of everyone who believes in freedom and progress.

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HUNGARY

U.S. MILITARY ACTIVITY IN INDIAN OCEAN SCORED

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 21 May 77 p 2

[Article by Edit Zsigovits: "Indian Ocean: Strategic Paradise"]

[Text] The Navajo's production was part of the show for the visit. The only Indian employee on the island galloped wildly by in his jeep crying: "Take no prisoners!" The officer pointing out the sights explained indulgently that he imagined that Diego Garcia was his because the Indian Ocean more or less coincided with the name of his origin. Journalists had been invited for the first time to the American base which has been under construction for 6 years and the correspondent of NEWSWEEK described the scene. According to some it was not by chance that the Pentagon was hit by a desire to give some information on the most significant military project of recent years; rather, it was deliberately timed. They thus wanted to counterbalance the proposal of President Carter that the two great powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, make the Indian Ocean a demilitarized zone. The initiative aroused great attention since one of the most sensitive areas of our Earth was involved and at first hearing it was thought that the new American foreign policy was catching up with a similar initiative of the uncommitted countries, the South Asian states and the Soviet Union.

The American correspondents on the coral islands were convinced that this was not what was involved. Millions of dollars are being spent to strengthen the reefs taken over from British ownership. The expenditures thus far have upset every earlier estimate and even more supplementary sums have been voted. By 1979, when the base is finished, the American tax payers will have spent 173 million dollars on it, the New York weekly cited above noted maliciously. The 20-kilometer long, few hundred-meter wide, V-shaped island is a natural harbor which, with dredging, could serve as a port for submarines carrying nuclear weapons. With the strengthening and extension of the runways it could be made suitable for landing by B-52 bombers. But the real role for Diego Garcia is not to serve as a supply base for warships cruising between the east coast of Africa and the Pacific Ocean.

The island has a local value: It is being transformed into a powerful observation point in the center of the region from which, according to military experts, artificial satellites can be used to watch any sea movement and listen to every radio communication from the Near East to Australia. The one-time Eden of the displaced original inhabitants is a paradise still, if a bit bare for the technical personnel working there, a paradise from the strategic viewpoint.

The expensive military investment, although justified by Washington as ensuring trade routes and the delivery of oil and raw materials to the West, is part of a more comprehensive political program and the real goal is to give the United States a position of advantage in the Indian Ocean. They frequently refer to power relationships and quote detailed statistics about which country has how many ships in the area and readily point out the alleged Soviet superiority. From which it follows that in order to restore the "balance" Washington is trying to reassure the coastal countries by emphasizing the American presence--in some cases in such a way as to bring them into the "defensive system." Arms deliveries were one of the themes at last week's routine CENTO conference in Teheran too. The locale made the question timely for Iran, a purchaser of arms from the United States with an inexhaustible treasury, no longer makes a secret of the fact that with its military equipment, which exceeds the needs of a Middle East country, it wants not only to defend its oil wells against a possible attack but also to gradually bring the entire Persian Gulf area under its control. Saudi Arabia also turns a significant proportion of the petro-dollars to similar purposes and many of the rich sheikdoms as well. Behind the greater political trend, of course, one can discover the secondary intention of receiving guarantees from the United States in return, against a possible internal opposition. This obviously guided the Sultan of Oman when he recently handed over the island of Masira to the Pentagon.

In addition to the route leading from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean the other control point for so-called European shipping--it is also an important link with Asia for the Soviet Union--is the South African cape. The recent efforts of American diplomacy to "work on" Pretoria are primarily interdependent with this and thus are strategically motivated. And Vorster, the white head of government, can choose to say yes in only one way, to subordinate the interests of the more closed Boer world to the stronger will and to receive in return the hope of an ever more contradictory survival on the Black Continent.

Washington also reacts in a lively fashion to internal movements in South Asia. It is characteristic that several units of the Seventh Fleet were ordered to the coasts of the subcontinent not only at the time of the 1971 Indian-Pakistani war but also in the situation which became critical between Delhi and Dacca because of the waters of the Ganges. The change of power in India would be advantageous for Washington if in the future Delhi did not oppose the arming of the Indian Ocean as steadfastly as Indira

Gandhi did--although at the time of Foreign Minister Gromyko's visit the new leadership reiterated and regarded as valid the foreign policy line followed thus far. Uncertainty reigns in the neighboring island country of Sri Lanka also. The elections set for June could bring a similar turn as in India and the supremacy of the conservatives could bring with it a greater western commitment.

Washington is also trying to develop new relations with the Southeast Asian states with this string of the American strategic system. Surveying the influence of the one-time Indochinese countries there has been a tactical further development of the principle of "relying on one's own strength" and this has been deployed as a weapon supplementing the few existing bases. One did not have to bring up the idea of secure borders here, it was enough to suggest it and then deliver the weapons. Without exception the countries of the area are developing countries. The problems deriving from this can be solved only with significant capital, assuming commodity links as well. The Asian governments, which are recovering from the Vietnam shock relatively slowly, are still trying, with a characteristic and difficult to recognize diplomacy, to avoid showing their true colors but the two white states interested in the future of the Indian Ocean, Australia and New Zealand, consider Carter's plan unworkable.

The fallen labor party governments in both countries originally agreed, at least in principle, with the ideas formulated for a peace zone. The present conservative leadership, however, is saying no, not only because of its disposition but also with transparent intentions. They feel themselves so independent of Washington that they are saying that the plan would be a pirate action which would transfer the responsibilities to the countries of the area, including the weight of new tensions which would derive from the inequalities which would develop. So in the angle which joins the Indian Ocean to the Pacific, at the other end of the American military policy coordinate linking the area, they would prefer that Washington extend the "defensive net" spread over them, the supporting pillar of which is Diego Garcia.

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HUNGARY

FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER BIRO OPENS BUDAPEST INTERNATIONAL FAIR

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 May 77 p 6

[Article: "Investment Goods Fair Opens — CEMA Integration in Forefront — First Commercial Contracts"]

[Text] The 1,868 exhibitors of 28 countries, including Hungary, and West Berlin are displaying their products at the spring Budapest International Fair, which opened yesterday. Dr Jozsef Biro, foreign trade minister spoke at the opening ceremonies held at the fair center in Kobanya.

Jozsef Biro's Speech

In his introduction, the minister of foreign trade greeted the guests, and analyzing the international status of the fair, he stressed it is to Hungary's benefit that all our important partners are participants in the Budapest fair, and thus we can vividly see the results of CEMA integration and of bilateral and multilateral cooperation. He continued:

"At the center of our 1977 foreign economic program stand, as before, our planned relations with CEMA countries, including in particular the Soviet Union. Our commodity trade and cooperation agreements serve as a strong background for our economic development plans, and at the same time they provide a good basis also for the constantly growing development of cooperation with countries outside the socialist community. The realization of our plan concepts will require more intense work in all areas of science, industry, agriculture and foreign trade. Our enterprises understand the increasing tasks, that is, they must continue to increase the quality of their products and adjust more flexibly to the demands levied by the fast-changing and high requirements of the buyers."

He also extended his remarks to Western partners. The minister emphasized that Hungary will continue in the future to strive for balance and gradual expansion with its partners. It is well known in Western Europe and overseas that we are good buyers and reliable suppliers. He continued this portion of his talk as follows:

"As a member of the GATT enjoying equal rights — also in the sense of the Helsinki final document — Hungary binds itself against all types of discrimination, commercial restrictions, and quantitative and other protectionist measures. It follows therefrom that Hungary wishes to expand its bilateral relations with the developed industrial countries and the developing countries. For this reason, Hungary supports the establishment of relations based on mutual interests by both of Europe's two large economic integration organizations, CEMA and the Common Market."

In conclusion, he thanked the participants in the organizing and arranging of the fair, and then he declared open the spring 1977 Budapest International Fair.

Tour by Party and Government Leaders

After the talk by Dr Jozsef Biro, the guests went on an orientation tour in company of Laszlo Foldes, the managing director of Hungexpo. First, they visited displays on environmental protection. Here Ferenc Marton, the secretary-general of the Hungarian Academy of Science, greeted the guests. Then Istvan Lang, the deputy secretary-general of the Academy, described the concentrated research program for the environmental protection of the Balaton. Janos Sebestyen, deputy chairman of the National Technical Development Committee, described the technical operations and programs relating to environmental protection. Then Karoly Polinszky, minister of education, escorted the guests to the exhibit on educational affairs. He said that 650 inventions and innovations were worked out in higher educational institutions over a 2 year period, and a good number are already being used in industry.

Next on the tour was the exhibit B pavillion, where the heavy industry enterprises have their displays. Pal Simon, minister for heavy industry, greeted the guests who viewed the exhibits by the Borsod Chemical Combine, and the Tisza Chemical Combine. At the latter, the factory managers stated that the construction program for the large polypropylene factory is proceeding according to plan and trial products would be run off by autumn. At the number 18 pavillion, the guests were met by Jozsef Bondor, construction and urban development minister, who guided them through the exhibit at which 31 enterprises are representing the Hungarian industry. Tivadar Nemeslaki, minister for metallurgy and the machine industry, was the host at the D pavillion. The guests expressed their appreciation of heavy current apparatuses and inspected the VBKM [Electronic Equipment and Installations Works] scoreboard equipment which is being supplied to the Moscow Olympics. The exhibit of the Ganz Electrical Works was successful. Also in the D pavillion, they inspected the electric motors of the Yugoslav exhibitors.

Before the tour participants entered the A pavillion, they inspected the showcase exhibit in which the cooperation and the more important common investments of the CEMA countries were portrayed with photographs, documents and clay models. In the A pavillion on communications, instruments and computers, they spent some time at the Medicor exhibit, and then they inspected the

exhibits of the Bulgarian enterprises and the equipment of the MMG [Measuring Instruments Factory] Automatic Works for industrial use of gas and oil. Here they also met with the Austrian exhibitors. Poland is represented at the fair by 17 and the CSSR's industry by 20 foreign trade enterprises. The party and government leaders saw many innovations and technical matters of interest at both exhibits.

Next they visited the exhibits of the Ganz Instrument Works and the Telephone Factory, and then the visitors were shown products of GDR industry. The guests spent a brief time at the information stand of the Japanese Jetro firm, and then they inspected the new products of the Beloianisz Communications Factory. After visiting the Romanian communications and instruments exhibit, the visitors arrived at the Soviet section, where Vladimir J. Pavlov, ambassador of the Soviet Embassy in Hungary, greeted the party and government leaders. The Soviets organized a special exhibit in honor of the approaching 60th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution. Photographs, documents and scholarly books can be found at this exhibit. Lively interest was shown in Soviet industrial products, ship models and measuring instruments.

At the outdoor exhibit area they familiarized themselves first of all with the machines of the vehicle industry, the newest semi-trailer tractor of the Hungarian Coach and Machine Factory, and the new urban and airport motor buses of Ikarus. At the outdoor area they inspected the Finnish construction industry cranes, then the exhibited products of Ganz-Mavag and of the Hungarian Ship Building and Crane Factory. And then the tour was continued in the A pavillion. After viewing the Danish and Swedish firms, the guests visited the Italian exhibits. Then the orientation tour continued to the U.S. exhibits where the guests inspected petroleum industry equipment.

In the number 40 pavillion, the commercial and the restaurant machine-groups are being exhibited. After viewing these, the tour continued to an inspection of the collective Dutch exhibit. United Incandescent also has an exhibit here of its products and specialized achievements. The party and government leaders spoke in appreciation of the vacuum-engineering products.

Then the guests arrived at C pavillion, where the tour continued at the international review of metal working. Here they met with the Swiss and the FRG exhibitors and the Hungarian machine-tool manufacturing enterprises. At the collective exhibit for metallurgy, the enterprises of the Hungarian Iron and Steel Association and the factories of the Csepel Iron and Steel Works are displaying about 350 different products. The collective Belgian exhibit is also in this pavillion. The tour was concluded with an inspection of the products of the Lenin Metallurgical Works and the Danube Steel Works.

Statement by Ferenc Havasi

With the conclusion of the tour, Ferenc Havasi, deputy premier, stated the following to newspapermen on basis of what had been seen:

"We were happy to see that the Budapest International Fair is developing from year to year, is wealthier, and has become a useful forum for East-West trade. At the wide-scale exhibits on investment goods, the representatives of many enterprises from socialist countries are meeting this year as well with experts from Western firms, and by taking advantage of the favorable opportunities they are expanding their information and business relations."

"We are deeply impressed by the exhibit in honor of CEMA cooperation. There was particular interest in Soviet equipment, and we believe that the Budapest International Fair will help in the expansion of Hungarian-Soviet cooperation. The enterprises of the other socialist countries also brought their good quality equipment and machinery. For us, these are very important, for our socialist partners are familiar with the demands of Hungarian industry from coordinated economic plans and common, long-range programs, and it was accordingly that they chose and assembled their exhibit materials."

"Western firms, including a number of eminent world firms, have also come to Budapest with great ambitions. In evaluating their displays, we can state that they know our demands, and many of them are no longer only commercial partners but cooperative partners as well at Hungarian production plants. In addition to a whole series of Western firms, we can also greet the representatives of various ministries, foreign trade offices, chambers of industry, and unions as well as representatives from the Common Market countries, the consortium of European banks for consolidating Austrian financial institutions, and the Banque de Paris."

"This year's Budapest International Fair also faithfully reflects how Hungarian industry is reacting to the processes taking place in the world economy. It can be perceived that the enterprises are making great efforts to modernize their product structure, to purchase licenses, and to increase economy and productivity. We are confident that these efforts will have good results. International work specialization is providing great help to this success. I hope that the technical level which can be seen here will stimulate every Hungarian enterprise to planned activity on their own initiative," Ferenc Havasi said in concluding his statement.

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ROMANIA

GOMA CASE DISCUSSED BY LITERARY WEEKLY EDITOR

Bucharest LUCEAFARUL in Romanian 9 Apr 77 p 8

[Article by Nicolae Dragos: "A Sad 'Siren Song'"]

[Text] In the life of every people there are times that are characteristic of its fundamental calling and aspirations, of virtues crystallized throughout the centuries, through which its name is expressed with dignity before other nations. Just recently the Romanian people had a chance to display specific traits--courage, heroism, self-control, the power to overcome the greatest difficulties. Dramatically tested by the 45 seconds of the earth's violent upheaval, we saw our factories, hundreds of factories, destroyed or severely damaged, homes leveled to the ground or disastrously damaged--thousands, tens of thousands of homes. And all in just a few seconds, a few paralyzing, incredible seconds. Hundreds of human lives were lost in the wreckage, tragically torn from the wellspring of life, victims who will long be mourned in our memory. Among them, fate picked the names of a number of prestigious writers and people of the arts. As did all the people, those who serve humanity with their talent, their bountiful striving toward the good and the beautiful, bravely suppressed their suffering to join the heroic effort to restore normalcy, to rebuild the land, to urgently bind up the wounds inflicted on us by the disaster, no matter how deep.

What could be more revelatory of the unanimous will of a people than the magnificent gestures of solidarity in the face of those days? Once more was demonstrated the indestructability of the unity of the people, called forth with true solemnity, a matchless triumph of the years of socialism. Once more was demonstrated the people's great faith in the party, in its capacity to resolve, together with the people, for the good of the people, the most complex problems. The whole world watched with admiration and respect the exemplary and profoundly human way in which the Romanian people behaved during the dramatic events of March. Journalists and eyewitnesses from various countries of the world, already in Romania or having come because of those days, were not sparing with words of fierce struggle to save human lives, to urgently stave off the grave consequences of the seemingly endless seconds of the night of 4 March. With legitimate pride, without false self-importance, with the directness of one who has proved to himself

that he has built, in time, with consistent lucidity, an exemplary moral image, the Romanian people have earned the world's respect for their actions. This respect has been expressed, as at so many other times, with regard to the people's acts of courage, to their will to overcome--as a truly great victor--the drastic consequences of an extraordinary situation.

All the more strange, therefore, are the sad "siren songs" with which some have hastened to pollute the airwaves or the columns of certain newspapers. They have exhausted words in phrases loaded with hate for the calm highlands of Romania, for her people, who are founding, with all their will and strength, a new way for their homeland, their own way of life. They are betraying everything durable that is being built in Romania, everything that is beautiful and humane in Romania. They hate the fundamental choices our people have for a life that is dignified, free and independent, for socialism, and hence--in defiance of the truth--they are devoting themselves to the violent denigration of the land and people of Romania, of its tried and true leadership, the Communist Party. The vitriolic and irresponsible fury which "Free Europe"--so pompously and erroneously named--aims at us over the airwaves wishing to lead us perfidiously astray, has in its motives not the slightest concern for our fate, for what we have been and now are, through thick and thin. Such a sense of concern could only be totally alien to those who, in cowardly and reckless fashion, have scuttled off to the aforesaid radio station to hurl insults, being paid by the hour and the minute. They have dipped their pens in the ink of hate, of betrayal, the ink of statelessness. The words they utter pass through a hall of distorted mirrors, from which the consciousness of truth has been long since and forever banished. Feeding on words of hate, distorting the truth with never a flinch, rejoicing when we suffer more than our share of bad times, and dreaming futilely of times that history has irrevocably condemned, such impromptu Cassandras are dangerous tools of the Cold War, of enmity between peoples. It is hardly enough to turn off their slander. A wound, however small, if not treated in time, can become worse, can spread.

Believers in the world's most powerfully affirmed desire for cooperation, in reason's sovereign right to unanimous recognition, we await the time when subsidized slander will be done away with, when those who insult the labor and ideals of nations will no longer enjoy anyone's trust.

Numerous violent events of recent times, reported in the international press and brought to the notice of Romanian public opinion, are drawing attention to the reactivation of reactionary and neofascist circles, to their mad endeavors to take foul advantage of certain discredited elements who are traitors to their homeland. In the face of such practices, so contrary to aspirations of cooperation and understanding between nations, our response is categorical and relentless. For when irresponsible, slanderous voices from outside enter into harmony with those of certain individuals here at home whose actions evidence bad faith and a spirit of provocation, then there is no reason to be tolerant. We cannot permit anyone to vilify the labor and efforts of a whole country. In the name of decades of labor and sacrifices,

in the name of the accomplishments of the present which will be enriched in the future, we have the right, we have the duty to act firmly in the face of any attempt to denigrate, to slander. In this context, we cannot ignore the fact that, for various reasons, in a situation of no longer being able to perceive the realities of the country in their true light, there are those who, flouting elementary civic norms, devote themselves to acts of calumny, of insults to the country.

For many years now, Paul Goma has been fidgeting in our literary framework. At first we attributed his actions and declarations to outrageousness, to vanity. But considering the perseverance with which, through the years, he has made himself into an author of diversions and declarations inspired by bad will toward our country's realities, our culture, it would be naive for us to justify everything that way. It was not a dramatic quest of inquiry, so natural to a creative person, that led Paul Goma to the sad situation of being a "dissident," a falsifier of the realities of his own homeland! It was not the desire to write literature true to his people that ensconced him comfortably in the welcoming arms of the organizers of broadcasts in the reactionary agency of "Free Europe." He wanted to build glory for himself, to save his name from anonymity through scandalous and provocative declarations, done in the pay (for he is a man and must live) of certain foreign radio stations and newspapers, which do not look kindly on the accomplishments of our socialist country.

His interest has proved to be a niggardly one, events revealing his dismal endeavors to construct a platform of protest which would alone assure him access to some Western editor or radio station whose programs involve the concoction of "cases" which serve to slander socialist countries.

What have been, at bottom, the concerns of Paul Goma, whom "Free Europe" is straining to represent to us as a hero? Finding no support or approval among the ranks of writers, people of authentic culture, he has attempted to activate reactionary elements without morals or ideals, individuals governed by hatred for the achievements of our system, elements condemned for offenses which have nothing to do with literature. Naturally, through such acts Paul Goma has revealed his true intentions, has shown himself to be a fisher who has sold his conscience, thereby at once betraying the natural ideals of the citizen and the ideal of the writer. It is with astonishment that we find that, at a moment when the nation was mastering its grief and the troubles inflicted by the disaster, Paul Goma was launching, under the same foul auspices, words of slander at our land and our people. At a moment when we are reading emotionally about aged, ordinary people taking from their modest pensions, out of sacred humanity, sums of money to deposit in the "Kindness Fund" so that we may overcome the consequences of the disaster as rapidly as possible, Paul Goma once more reveals himself to be devoid of the most rudimentary respect for human beings! Although he owes tens of thousands of leus to the Writers Union literary fund, he sent it a letter stating a number of provocative conditions in connection with the yielding of some hypothetical author's rights, demonstrating his hatred

for the Romanian state, for the society we are building. He demonstrates that he has nothing in common with our preoccupations and concerns, that even at such a time he does not hesitate to ignore the nation's trouble and drama, to make use of such a grave situation in order to provoke scandal, to demonstrate the incompatibility of his own thoughts and beliefs with the thinking and ideals of our homeland's citizens, his hatred for the party, for socialism. We have a duty not to allow such reckless, hostile, and slanderous acts and gestures to go on indefinitely.

It is natural for us to debate our problems collectively, in the organized forms of the Romanian democratic society of today. To appeal to foreign agencies is to call for foreign intervention in the country's internal affairs, in problems which concern the destiny of Romanian culture, of our literary life. All who have disdained such truths have been repudiated by the people, condemned by the law-governed evolution of society.

In closing these lines, which were inspired by a legitimate revulsion against the irresponsible acts delineated above, it would be in a spirit of truthfulness if we were to stress the fact that our society and the writers' community have demonstrated considerable understanding with respect to Paul Goma. He, on the other hand, has shown himself to be intractable to the gestures made; he has not managed or, more accurately, has not wished to understand, to approach sincerely the actual realities of our life. In this situation, he has in effect set himself apart from the people as well as from the writers, placing himself in stances hostile to our social life, the literary and cultural life of Romania. Nothing in his writing or in his general attitude demonstrates that he desires to be a writer of the Romanian nation, an artist who knows how to turn his talent and labor to the spiritual benefit of the country, to contribute in a specific way to society's overall efforts to assure a brighter, more praiseworthy future. The nobility of such aspirations has been and is alien to those who turn their backs on truth, who oppose the ideals which the people have conscientiously and responsibly embraced.

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ROMANIA

SUCCESSES, SHORTCOMINGS OF FILMS DISCUSSED

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[Article by Calin Caliman: "Cinematography in the Context of Our Socialist Culture"]

[Text] In recent years the Romanian feature film has shaped a specific personality and contribution in the context of contemporary socialist culture. More decisive affirmation and consolidation of films of actuality, substantiation of the historical vein, thematic and stylistic diversification, reinvigoration of comedy and an upsurge of young directors are just some of the gains in experience of recent seasons of cinematography. Under the emblem of the First Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture, the national cinematography has emerged from steadfast, with a greater sense of communist responsibility and principal ideological, thematic and artistic objectives in the long, elaborated process of socialist consciousness development.

The experience of the past year contains, we believe, by virtue of the positive results achieved by film makers as well as obvious shortcomings, useful lessons for the future of Romanian films. The end results also reveal more than summarized recollections of the road traveled--they represent, in fact, the opening of prospects for the paths of the future (and, who knows? the opening of paths without prospect).

Annual Review of Film Adaptations

We have become accustomed to the fact that each cinematographic year shows a dominant evolutional tendency (a fact constituting a sign of maturation

in itself). The year 1975, for example, was marked by a deepening of the relation between moviemaking and actuality (a fact demonstrated by films such as "The Race" [Cursa], "Illustrated With Wild Flowers," "Filip the Good," "The City Seen From Above"), the contemporaneization of creative work being evidenced as well in the evocation of pages from more recent history ("The Actor and the Savages," "The Wall") or more remote ("Vaslui 1475," "Cantemir"). The past year was a year of film adaptations. What does this work entail for the Romanian film's progress from yesterday to tomorrow?

We are well aware that, for our cinematography, several films produced over the years represent true "landmarks." Let us name once more these landmark films: "One Stormy Night," "The Lucky Mill," "The Forest of Hanged Men," "The Uprising," "The Stone Wedding." We know just as well, however, that literature (classical or modern) has also been, for film, a source of modest achievements, many sources of literary inspiration of genuine social-artistic interest giving rise to dull, irrelevant films, which have not only reduced the literary works that inspired them to bare outlines, or else deviated unfavorably from them, but have remained of minimal interest or only infra-artistic interest even in the realm of cinematography. The fact that last year the most valuable films were made from well-known works out of the classical or contemporary prose heritage is of a nature to confirm, on the one hand, the beneficial contribution made by important literature to the creation of a quality cinematography, and on the other hand, the rich, specifically-cinematographic experience being acquired these days by the most interesting achievers in the domain of the Seventh Art.

The gain, consequently, is twofold. An abundant literature, with social and psychological profundities, with analytical, narrative and poetic virtues, brings support to films with well-constituted sociopolitical, moral and artistic values which, provided there are screenplays that are honest in spirit, confer substance to the cinematographic undertaking. The best films of last year are eloquent testimony to this. The specific qualitative progress in cinematography is due to the fact that the filmmakers have not been content with mere mechanical translation but have elaborated works of conception in order to find, in the language of cinema, equivalents to the respective literary works. We are not referring, of course, to formal solutions but primarily to solutions of content.

The Annual Review of remarkable film adaptation began with Mircea Veroiu's "On the Other Side of the Bridge," continued with Andrei Blaier's "In the Ashes of the Empire," and ended with Dan Pita's "Tanase Scatiu." All three films can serve very well as examples of the highest concerns, with the necessary remark that each film offers evidence for other arguments from other points of reference.

A creative adaptation of Ioan Slavici's novel "Mara"--"On the Other Side of the Bridge"--distills the essence of the Transylvanian writer's moral tale, extracting from the original plot, so rich in "local flavor" (with marketplaces, fairs, glib dialogue, and so on), the general human meanings

of the blind lust to become rich, with its dehumanizing and tragic consequences. The portrait of a woman leads to the portrait of a world, the world of rural bourgeoisie at its height, and this sketch of an era, undertaken by the director within a typical film de auteur, transmits--through pertinent symbols and a plot that is unfolded in every picturesque element--the "coldness" of that world, its stated and its unstated conflicts, the mentality of the times.

That which places "In the Ashes of the Empire" in the realm of major artistic interest is not merely the dense narration, so rich in psychological detail, of writer Zaharia Stancu's "Game With Death," but also the creative continuation on the screen of the author's striving to extract significances of great and immediate actuality. The detailed exactitude of the atmosphere and the minute examination of life, with nuanced psychological shadings, lead from that time to a tableau of an era sketched in tones of concentrated realism.

Finally, "Tanase Scatiu," a film based on fragments of Duiliu Zamfirescu's works and put together in a screenplay by Mihnea Gheorgiu, gave the director the chance for a film of solid cultural foundation. But the power of this cinematographic creation, of great artistic balance, does not lie only in the prose which inspired it (the social-esthetic values of Duiliu Zamfirescu's novels being open to question) or in the qualities of the script. The director himself (he above all) seized the "chance" for a more profound film when he refused to be content with a mere correct transcription but rather recreated an actual and psychological universe, the world of the original novels of a century ago, with penetrating realism, with a striking political and artistic approach.

Not all of the year's films achieved such artistic success, although at times the literary sources of inspiration served as a tempting basis as in the cases mentioned. Virgil Calotescu's film "The Last Night of Solitude," for example, derived from a modern novel about the world of the village, one remarkable for its realistic observation of life and the significances contained: "The Discovery of the Family" by Ion Brad (screenplay a collaboration between Ion and Alexandru Brad). The difficulties of this film adaptation derive exactly from the partially cinematographic transcription of the narration within the film framework. From the seemingly positive desire to include as many episodes and personages as possible from the original work, some episodes and personages could not be "fitted in" except through excessive skeletonization. And, therefore, this film, despite good realistic "pages," had undesirable syncopes in its epic breathing.

But this is just one of the "pitfalls" of screen adaptations. Deriving from a poetic-tragic novel about the hard life of an upright man in bourgeois society--Victor Ion Popa's "Velerim si Veler doamne"--the director (and coscenarist) Sergiu Nicolaescu, retaining by and large the plot's principal incidents, altered its tonality, placing it on a violent-spectacular level. Thus the film's power to convince is diminished, not

only because of departure from the source (generally speaking, a screen adaptation does not have to remain "tied" mechanically to the source) but because of contradictions between content and form. Another novel of striking political significance is "Water," by the late writer Al. Ivasiuc, inspired by the hard realities of the first years of people's rule; part of its ideological content was in turn weakened on the way to the screen. Incidents in the plot (carefully scripted) maintain a modicum of interest at an acceptable level, but Dinu Tanase (a cameraman of great talent), not having much experience as a director, was captivated by intrigue and atmosphere, neglecting to emphasize the political significances in those "Three Days and Three Nights" of bitter and irreconcilable class struggle. The contribution of director Mihai Constantinescu in the screening of Aurel Baranga's play "Disguises," a play having many fun moments, can be considered nonexistent; his film "Premiere," corseted by theatrical conventions, does not succeed in making the necessary transition to film.

It may be that, after these contradictory examples, a conclusion would be worthwhile. Indeed, a conclusion emerges by itself: whenever the job of conception is replaced by routine operations, screen adaptations (and not just they) run the risk of not realizing their cultural-educative potential.

The Actuality of Actuality

Naturally, actuality in film does not mean having "today's date" on the calendar on the wall of a set in a film that is timeless or that does not touch upon the life and preoccupations of modern man. Recent years have brought the Romanian film to a notable experience in the investigation of topical concerns. And it is very natural for producers, film companies and directors to pay priority attention to this "sector" more closely than to all other preoccupations and receptivities of the present-day moviegoer. In the order of importance, today's film occupies a primary place in the joint efforts of moviemakers to work in harmony with the primary educative and cultural concerns which animate our society. The experience of world film demonstrates that a cinematography, of whatever kind, can be defined and can perfect its identity only if it is implanted firmly and deeply in the soil of present-day reality. Thus, the accumulated experience of recent years in our cinematography itself demonstrates that it is in this domain that the most significant changes in attitude have taken place, opening up new perspectives of cinematographic creation inspired by the great political, social and moral mutations of socialism. Films such as "Cursa," "Illustrated With Wild Flowers," "Filip the Good," "Passages of Love," "The City Seen From Above," and "The Landowners" have drawn very close to the vital problems of contemporaneity, to the moral profile of today's man.

The immediate present, like other examples from the cinematographic experience of recent years, testifies fully to this firm and responsible involvement of the Romanian film in contemporaneity. The moviemakers'

battle mission on the front of the unleashed flood has in recent years provided a whole contingent of graduates of the Institute of Theater and Cinematographic Art with a film program of manifest civic attitude, "Water Like a Black Buffalo." Now, engaged in an important and grave mission, witnesses and participants in the battle to salvage, rebuild and remake after the seismic catastrophe that convulsed the country on the threshold of spring, moviemakers have once more demonstrated their profound involvement in the country's destiny, in contemporaneity. Countless moviemakers, directors, cameramen and television reporters have been on duty day and night, at their posts in places of salvage work and renewal. The entire country, in this way, has become a witness and participant. At the end of long hours and days of strained and attentive wakefulness, cameramen have captured on film moments of maximum emotional concentration, testifying to the inestimable virtue of communist goodness in action. Film cameras have been everywhere: among ruins, recording every turn of life toward life, after whole hours of heroic labor, after days and weeks; in severely damaged plants where, thanks to the wholehearted efforts of the workers, production processes have been resumed at maximum capacity; in hospitals, in new apartments destined for suffering families, in schools and railroad stations, on the country's city thoroughfares and at the airports--everywhere, recording significant human gestures and actions specific to the present. They have filmed springtime in Bucharest, people and flowers, magnolias blossoming earlier than in other years, as a sign, perhaps, of the victory of the people of socialist Romania over the elements. Involvement in contemporaneity, indeed, has become a state of mind of our cinematography.

What new developments has the past season offered in this regard? "The Red Apples," for example, by director Al. Tatos (and scenarist Ion Baiesu), presents a lively, dynamic, true portrait of a modern-day man. The outcome compels us to place the film, with its lively vigor, among the most representative creations of recent years. The workplace, as the characteristic entity of the universe of labor and life, is intensely alive in director Sergiu Nicolaescu's "Hot Days." Unfortunately, the days of the personages--especially those spent in the workplace--are merely "lukewarm" either as "days" of conflict or as "days" of action proper. Another film from last season, "The Court Postpones the Verdict," directed by Dinu Cocea, has a very interesting starting point, a debate on the theme of morals, ethics and socialist justice. Yet the moviemakers' approach is not taken to completion. "The Last Days of Summer," under Savel Stiopul's direction, does not succeed, except partially, in demonstrating the unity between the workplace and people's concerns, their "personal" life. But the scale of values of films dealing with the subject of actuality in the past cinematographic year also reveals other unevennesses: Alongside a superficial film such as "The Grandfather and the Two Juvenile Delinquents" (praiseworthy for the problem it presents, that of responsibilities to the younger generation) we find an idyllic film such as "The Solitude of Flowers" or a flagrantly distorted vision of reality such as that in "The House at Midnight." Also praiseworthy are the film companies' efforts to offer the public more comedies (in 1976 moviegoers were offered "Operation 'Monster,'" "Premiere," "Serenade for the Twelfth Floor," and

in the early months of this year "The Story of Love" and "Tufa of Venice" appeared on the screen), although so far the results are below standard. The problem of comedy, a genre so loved and essential, with such important social functions, merits separate discussion.

Whereas in the last 10 years, for example, the film of actuality has represented a rare and fortuitous entity in the repertory, still a single cinematographic season comprises numerous titles, films of quite a variety of genres, the creative palette being variegated, broad and comprehensive. The programmatic concern of our moviemakers, directors and producers, the necessary promotion of films of actuality is, undoubtedly, salutary. More and more films about the present-day are being proposed, each cinematographic season bringing new incursions into daily life. Nevertheless, a certain sense of dissatisfaction is still encountered with respect to the Romanian film of actuality. The past cinematographic year contributed rather timidly to the "treasury" of substantial films which can speak to the present--and to the future--in an artistically convincing language about the particularities of the time in which we live and work.

What are the main reasons? Above all, it is a matter, we believe, of a too-narrow perspective on the part of producers--and especially screen-writers--with respect to contemporary realities. We have listed many titles, of quite varying genres (and values).

Films of actuality still lack, at times, the "raw material" of life, and their reflective, meditative function still leaves much to be desired. We are repeating ourselves (and echoing others), but it is necessary to resume the concerns without which the political substance of the film of actuality cannot be achieved as such. "Power and Truth" was in its time, and continues to be, a powerful and truthful film just because those who made it--scenarist Titus Popovici and director Manole Marcus--presented a lucid and responsible lesson on the directions of our society's evolution toward higher fulfillment. But no film of such value has been repeated (=continued) in the cinematographic output of recent years or the past film season. The chance to conquer time, to persuade and to stir the emotions can come only to films of attitude, which manage to lead life to deeds of art, culture, and education through the filter of the thinking and the personality of the artist. At the same time, there are still realms of reality that have been too little probed by the moviemakers. The present-day village, for example, does not yet have films which represent it truthfully. It would be possible to draw up a whole "inventory" of other lacks, but, of course, this line of reasoning can hardly be fruitful with regard to evaluating the output of one year of moviemaking, since no one year should be called upon to make up for old, "routine" lacks. What disturbs us, however, is the producers' vacillating standards and the fact that the actuality of "actuality" has not yet been realized as such.

History as a Dimension of the Present

The prospective plans of the national cinematography call for numerous films inspired by the glorious past of our nation's struggle. The prospect of the national epic stands out as an essential coordinate of cinematography, with educative-patriotic goals of particular importance.

The year referred to has not recorded representative creations in this epic, an epic called upon to rise to the level of the real epic which the history of the Romanian nation constitutes, through deeds of art and patriotic education. In compensation, it has clearly defined the future of the national cinematography. Proposing to systematically evoke the heroic figures which have contributed to preserving the continuity and spirituality of Romania on this land, the most representative deeds from out of the past of the nation's struggle, our cinematography is carrying out its duty simultaneously to the past, the present and the future.

In 1976, a film like "Pintea," a remarkable achievement by director Mircea Moldovan, gave cinematographic voice to several fine folk ballads born in the struggles for justice and freedom waged throughout the centuries on Romanian soil. And this is just one of the dimensions of the national epic. In the series of cinematographic creations dedicated to certain outstanding moments in the history of our country, we here cite from the five-year plan of cinematography, launched in 1976, the generous and broadly prospective intention of mining history in terms of the objectives, priorities and needs embodied in the party program adopted at the 11th congress, in the Plan of Measures of the First Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture, in terms of the primary political and educational desiderata which condition the vast process of enhancing socialist consciousness.

Our films will speak of Gelu and Menumorut, of Dragos and Musat, of Basarab and Bogdan; they will bring to the screen many other personages that have entered into the country's consciousness as vivid symbols of dignity and permanence: Mircea cel Batrin, Vlad Tepes, Petru Rares, Alexandru Lapusneanu, and Ion Voda Viteazul; they will focus on the great historic event of the Unification of the Romanians under Mihai Voda Viteazul; they will bring into contemporaneity the echo of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848; they will evoke the crucially important event of the Unification of the Principalities.

The epic of the Romanian nation's struggles to win state independence in 1877 will provide moviemakers with the chance to take important part in the context of the great anniversary which our country celebrates in this centennial year.

Within the thematic perimeter of films dealing with the history of our nation's struggle there are still large "blank" cinematographic areas on the threat of history. The traditions of Romanian progressive thinking, the beginnings of the workers movement, the activities of outstanding

propagandists in the first decades of this century, the general strike in 1920, the politically significant event of the creation of the Communist Party, the years of economic crisis between 1929 and 1933, the bright images of communist heroes, the lessons of Doftana, crucial moments in the epic of revolution and socialist construction--these are just a few themes of ample educative-patriotic potential which our moviemaker has the obligation, great political and esthetic responsibility, to infuse with contemporaneity, as a vivid memento of the struggle of the working class yesterday and today, the revolutionary accomplishments of the socialist society.

Diversity of Theme and Style

Possibly just because our moviemakers are faced with projects of such political and cultural-educative importance, the desideratum of thematic and stylistic diversity must be affirmed with greater vigor.

Recent years in moviemaking have been marked with a definite opening up of the Romanian screen to new themes and new modalities of expression. This is also confirmed by the facts of production in 1976. From the standpoint of the themes and genres undertaken, movies have, in the course of the year, attracted quite a variety of moviegoers: screen adaptations and films of the present day or those dealing with historical subjects have comprised a large range of subjects and preoccupations; dramas and comedies have alternated in the repertory of the year's premiers, just as films with epic predominances have alternated with lyrical works, and psychological enterprises have intersected with adventure. We have not lacked for debates on the theme of morality, ethics and socialist justice; neither, within the overall output, have young moviegoers been forgotten (who deserve, nevertheless, films matching their capacity for thought and reason): "Alarm in Delta," "The Grandfather and the Two Juvenile Delinquents," "The Red-Haired" are films that have been addressed particularly to them.

The "will of style," about which the eminent moviemaker and man of culture Victor Iliu spoke so correctly many years ago, and which his own films embodied with definitive reality, is increasingly present in the representative works of our movie industry. It is no accident that some of the best films of the year--"On the Other Side of the Bridge," "The Red Apples," "Tanase Scatiu," and "In the Ashes of the Empire"--are the films of directors who have a manifest concern for style. These four titles, by themselves, are capable of speaking explicitly of the stylistic variety of the Romanian film in its present stage of evolution. In "On the Other Side of the Bridge" we are dealing with an interior structure of a rigor and purity rarely encountered in our films, director Mircea Veroiu's effort to distill essences being notable in that it considers the emblematic values which the personages--seen as symbols of diverse ethical, social and national reactions--acquire, as well as the atmosphere of an era. A judicious equilibrium is established between the crude realism of the framework and the figurative, allegorical meanings, so

that the symbol, far from undermining, on the contrary intensifies the realistic consistency of the description. In "The Red Apples" a realistic observation of life emerges which is evident in the characterization of the personages, in the ambience in which the plot unfolds; we can speak of a welcome (and very cinematic) dynamism of the director's vision, which does not placidly record (as so often happens in other films) but rather demonstrates an attitude, a capacity for selection tending to reveal significant details. "Tanase Scatiu" (which an "assessment" of the film's producers recently judged to be "the year's best film") achieves symphonic proportions: the director's reading of Duiliu Zamfirescu's novels regards the narrative material from a broad philosophical standpoint, the theme is developed polyphonically, the striving toward exactitude and classic equilibrium, as a structure inherent to the film, leads to artistic results of the most convincing kind. In conclusion, to confine ourselves to the examples adduced above, "In the Ashes of the Empire" reveals once more a director with a true vocation for realism, manifested in the realm of the film of actuality and at the same time within a historical framework, exploited with a consistent concern for extracting contemporaneous meanings, attesting to the youthfulness of thought and vision of director Andrei Blaier.

The year 1976, therefore, showed striking evidence of the qualities of youthful directing. After directors like Mircea Daneliuc ("Cursa") and Constantin Vaeni ("The Wall") debuted, 1 year ago, with films of special value, with remarkable considerations of style, a number of other young directors have shown the indisputable political and artistic maturity of the cinematic efforts they have undertaken. Especially significant are the workd of directors Mircea Veroiu and Dan Pita, perhaps the most interesting creations in our cinematography's recent repertory, "On the Other Side of the Bridge" and "Tanase Scatiu." Add to these examples the debut of the more than promising director Al. Tatos and the efforts toward perfection of other young directors such as Mircea Moldovan and Maria Callas Dinescu, and we easily conclude that our cinematography has substantial reserves for surpassing the present.

A necessary observation. Within an output of 25 films annually, too few works evidence stylistic concerns; far too many indulge in routine labors--with greater or lesser signs of professionalism--and the circumstance is not of a nature to foster the affirmation and consolidation of a national school. Have the standards of producers declined, then, in 1976? Has the Romanian repertory destined for the screen comprised too many films on the periphery of thematic plans in 1976? These are questions which should be contemplated, responsibly and lucidly, by producers above all. The experience of one cinematographic year can be useful, especially useful, not only for analyzing successes but also, above all, for detecting and eliminating shortcomings in future endeavors.

The cultural-educative missions of the Romanian film are increasingly important and crucial. Progress necessarily depends on concerted and persistent effort. The struggle for quality does not permit half measures; life itself constitutes--must constitute--the moviemaker's fundamental criterion in the working out of future projects and creations.

Life constitutes the moviemaker's fundamental source of creativity. To depict on the screen, in the fullness of contained significances, the spiritual dimension of the present--such is the most responsible obligation--political, moral, philosophical and artistic--of our cinematography. The recent battle mission of films on the reconstruction front--after the catastrophic earthquake of 4 March--has also marked the recording on film of a new moral dimension specific to the socialist era. Eminent moviemakers such as directors Dan Pita and Sergiu Nicolaescu, documentary director David Reu and dozens of television cameramen were busy day and night filming the Bucharest of those days, and the other cities of the country hit by the deadly shock. They recorded in tragic documents the devastating evidence of the cataclysm. But more than that they recorded, in those days of suffering and bravery, documents of AZI, whose value seems to me nothing less than priceless: testimony to the people of socialist Romania. Yes, the Romanian film has convincingly portrayed, in pictures, the fundamental truth of our times: During the days of grave trial following the earthquake, heroism, faith in our own strength, and solidarity prevailed. The people prevailed. Goodness prevailed. The country prevailed, and is advancing steadfastly forward on its chosen path.

9078
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YUGOSLAVIA

DAILY PRESS CIRCULATION FOR 1975, 1976 TABULATED

Belgrade NASA STAMPA in Serbo-Croatian No 252, Mar 77 p 10

[Text] According to data available to the Association of Newspaper Publishers, based on the evaluations by the publishers of daily papers of changes in circulation during January and February, the new price increase will not have a negative impact on circulation, as was the case after the price increase of September 1974. According to the information of specialist services of newspaper organizations, however, it is already clear that the growth in circulation of daily newspapers stopped in February of this year.

The publishers of daily political and informative papers such as VJESNIK, NOVI LIST, GLAS ISTRE, LA VOCE DEL POPOLO, SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, GLAS SLAVONIJA, VECERNJI LIST, SPORTSKE NOVOSTI, BORBA, POLITIKA, NARODNE NOVINE, EKSPRES POLITIKA, VECERNJE NOVOSTI, and SPORT, on the basis of an agreement with their directors and the decision of responsible agencies of the sociopolitical community, and because of increased costs in the production of newspapers, increased prices from 2 dinars to 3 dinars per copy on 10 January of this year.

Five days later prices were also increased for the newspapers SOLOBODJENJE and VECERNJE NOVINE, and prices increased for NOVA MAKDEONIJA and VECER on 1 March, and for DNEVNIK and MAGYAR SZO on 10 March.

Publishers in Slovenia had already raised prices to 3 dinars last year. This year their prices changed only for the Saturday issue of DELO, which went to 5 dinars. At the end of last year the discount for subscriptions was also reduced.

Since the data on actual circulation during January and February are not final for all publishers of daily newspapers, this information on changes in circulation is made on the basis of estimates of the specialist services of newspaper organizations.

The data indicate that in January, compared to January 1976, average circulation of daily newspapers increased by 57,168, or 3 percent. In

Comparative Survey of Average Published and Average Sold Circulation of
Daily Newspaper for the Periods Jan-Dec 1975 and Jan-Dec 1976

Newspaper's name	Average published circulation		Index of published circulation	Average sold circulation		Index of sold circulation
	1975	1976		1975	1976	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bosnia and Hercegovina						
1. OSLOBODJENJE	70,750	78,499	111	59,180	64,940	110
2. VECERNJE NOVINE	17,518	18,199	104	13,195	14,190	108
Bosnia and Hercegovina--total	88,268	96,698	110	72,375	79,130	109
Montenegro						
1. POBJEDA	18,684	17,247	92	15,604	15,872	102
Montenegro--total	18,684	17,247	92	15,604	15,872	102
Croatia						
1. VJESNIK	83,426	88,504	106	67,110	69,847	104
2. VECERNJI LIST	217,550	244,121	112	191,206	216,739	113
3. SPORTSKE NOVOSTI	127,672	149,364	117	101,868	120,099	118
4. SLOBODNA DALMACIJA	51,013	58,298	114	45,611	52,700	116
5. GLAS SLAVONIJE	10,867	12,692	117	9,037	10,630	118
6. NOVI LIST -- GLAS ISTRE	55,242	58,808	106	49,051	52,486	107
7. LA VOCE DEL POPOLO						
Croatia--total	545,770	611,787	112	463,883	522,501	113
Macedonia						
1. NOVA MAKEDONIJA	24,388	26,121	107	20,655	22,347	108
2. VECER	10,827	13,278	123	8,921	11,315	127
Macedonia--total	35,215	39,399	112	29,576	33,662	114
Slovenia						
1. DELO	89,236	92,491	104	85,918	87,918	102
2. DNEVNIK -- Ljubljana	52,306	54,938	105	50,758	52,109	105
3. VECER	55,780	55,075	99	54,534	53,899	99
Slovenia--total	197,322	202,504	103	191,210	193,926	101
Serbia Proper						
1. BORBA - Latinic	16,830	19,424	115	11,416	13,858	121
2. BORBA - Cyrillic	32,076	43,270	135	24,624	35,116	143
3. SPORT	82,193	98,373	120	65,384	79,637	122
4. VECERNJE NOVOSTI	330,727	343,458	104	286,466	300,872	105
5. POLITIKA	265,090	282,096	106	231,397	247,849	107
6. EKSPRES POLITIKA	193,304	227,582	118	170,428	201,360	118
7. PRIVREDNI PREGLED	12,510	13,217	106	12,510	13,217	106
8. NARODNE NOVINE -- Nis	6,423	6,826	106	5,478	5,656	103
Serbia proper--total	939,153	1,034,246	110	807,703	897,565	111
Province of Kosovo						
1. RILINDJA	16,884	18,717	111	16,013	17,200	107
Province of Kosovo--total	16,884	18,717	111	16,013	17,200	107
Province of Vojvodina						
1. DNEVNIK	26,321	29,843	113	22,652	25,032	111
2. MAGYAR SZO	32,802	32,229	98	29,585	28,836	97
Province of Vojvodina--total	59,123	62,072	105	52,237	53,868	103
Serbia with provinces--total	1,015,160	1,115,035	110	875,953	968,633	111
Yugoslavia--total	1,900,419	2,082,670	110	1,648,601	1,813,724	110

February 1977 total daily circulation was the same as in February 1976, but actual sales decreased by 86,905 copies.

These data indicate that the growth in circulation had stopped last year.

Since, however, these data are not final, the effects of the price increases for daily newspapers on circulation can be determined precisely only at midyear.

Rapid Growth in Daily Newspaper Circulation in 1976

Last year the circulation of daily newspapers was 182,251 copies higher than in 1975, a 10 percent increase.

A comparative survey of average published and sold circulation for daily newspapers for the period January-December of both 1975 and 1976, published in this issue, shows that the growth in published circulation was more than 15 percent (higher in 1976) for the following newspapers: BORBA (cyrillic edition), increased 11,194 or 35 percent; VECER of Skopje 2,451 or 23 percent; SPORT of Belgrade 16,180 or 20 percent; EKSPRES POLITIKA of Belgrade 34,278 or 18 percent; SPORTSKE NOVOSTI of Zagreb 21,692 or 17 percent and GLAS SLAVONIJE of Osijek 1,825 or 17 percent.

The only newspapers recording a decline in circulation were POBJEDA of Titograd, which dropped 1,437 and VECER of Maribor, down 605 copies.

The 28-month period of stable prices from September 1974 to January 1977, when prices for daily newspapers were increased, certainly contributed to the fact that returns of copies declined in 1976 compared to 1975 and sold circulation also increased by 10 percent.

12131
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YUGOSLAVIA

INDEPENDENT, NOT NECESSARILY SOCIALIST, PATH IN ZAIRE URGED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 Apr 77 p 4

[Article by Zeljko Brihta: "Differences and Nuances"]

[Excerpts] Before a next solution or a new conflict maybe it would be good to try to eliminate some confusions and misunderstandings about Zaire--not so much because of Zaire, but because of Africa and all that is happening there and is only reflected in Zaire on a small scale. Even if it is difficult to find out where the truth lies in regard to Zaire--everybody affirms his own thing, and nobody believes anybody--it is not difficult to comprehend what is not true, although it repeats itself persistently. Zaire is not a new Vietnam. Zaire is not a new Angola. Zaire is no proof that Africa ought to be divided, not in two [parts], a white and a black [part], but also into a third one, a red [part].

Zaire is not a new Vietnam because it does not consist of two Zaires, North and South or East and West or National-Democratic and non-National-Democratic, nor is it divided like the countries in which people live in two systems. It is also not [Vietnam] because the United States has not helped it (yet) as they had helped the Saigon regime of that time: it is true that they have sent gasoline, radios and other "non-lethal" items to Kinshasha, but not the arms, even less soldiers, and neither did they send an adviser or "advisers"--not even those few such as the United States had when it began to get involved into Vietnam disputes at the time when their president's name was still Kennedy.

It is true that "others could wage war" there for the United States. They could represent American interests--and in doing so it would be necessary to know which [interests]. Some claim that it is desired in Washington that the situation in Kinshasha remain as it used to be, for President Mobutu seems to them "the most reliable adviser" there and maybe in Africa altogether. However, others claim that Washington, and in general the West, "is interested in Zaire's ore (mostly copper in Shaba) as well as in other South African raw materials," but Mobutu for some personal reasons became for them unacceptable in Kinshasha in the same way that racist representatives of apartheid in Pretoria did. And what now?

Nothing--one has to wait and see. But if it happens again that Africa is threatened more by offensives waged against the nonalignment by bloc policy than by the struggle between the blocs for a new division, new areas of influence, etc., it will not be difficult to foresee what is essential for Zaire. The names are of course the least [essential]. The most important fact is whether Zaire will remain nonaligned--for this is the only thing which can save it from becoming a Vietnam. South Vietnam has never and in no way been nonaligned. It has simply been a foreign, American base in a former chain of military, "ideological" and all kinds of other bases and fortresses of the West around "communist China."

The nonaligned are according to all the criteria also those who--whether this makes their movement of policy happy or not--wage war in Zaire, or are helping it to wage war, more exactly Morocco and Egypt (disregarding some Western thesis which claim that Cairo with its "role on the side of the West" is repaying there Washington for its "support in the Middle East"). The nonaligned are also some who do not wage war in Zaire, but are being attributed a certain influence for what is happening in this part of the world--Cuba whose President Castro, it is written, for all the connections with the USSR was welcomed as a man who "does not represent global interests and does not wish to export socialism" (ZEIT).

Angola does not export it either, and neither is Zaire a "new Angola"--although not for that reason alone. As much as one now knows, there is no movement in Zaire as MPLA in Angola, and there is no politician who is trying to develop the country in a socialist way, as is President Neto and some others in Luanda. For sure this is not the one who in 1960 removed the then Prime Minister Lumumba and handed him over to Tshombe in Katanga where in 1961 he was killed, and who in 1963 changed the "anti-government" of Prime Minister Gizenga (participant of the 1961 Belgrade Conference of the Nonaligned) in Stanleyville (today Kisangani) and who in the Angola war supported the opponents (rivals) of the MPLA, the FNLA movement (Roberto).

But, that also does not mean that Africa has received from the Zaire conflict either a third color or dimension--red or white or black or "communist" along with the racist and anti-colonial. Along with all the differences and nuances, only two fronts continue to exist in Africa. There exists the new front which is breaking through and the old one which stops it. There exists the bloc front which advances and the nonaligned front which resists. The differences between the blocs themselves are in this case, although dangerous, less important and secondary, as are also the differences among the nonaligned who never claimed that everybody always, and on everything, agrees. One would not believe them, with all their reasons.

However, or just for that reason: even in the newly freed countries there can be--and there is increasingly more--class struggle and other interior clashes and contradictions. They do not automatically have to be the source of socialism. The socialism has to only start breaking through,

and that never happens anywhere by itself. The independence is just a beginning, it is the first condition but it is not the only one--as one can see that precisely in Zaire. But, African paths are different also in this regard--and will continue to be different from the European path, so that nobody, absolutely nobody, ought to impose on anybody their prescription and should not measure anybody there according to any [other] foreign model.

However, since some are trying this, both the social progress in Africa, or the socialism in the African manner, can only be nonaligned (although nonalignment does not have to mean socialism). That is also Zaire's lesson--and the key to many locks in Africa.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF SPORT PARACHUTISTS DESCRIBED

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian 1 Apr 77 pp 16-17

[Article by Radovan Ivanovic: "Territorial Defenders Out of the Sky"]

[Text] During exercises, as during the reality of wartime, surprises are possible. Something like that occurred recently--because of a "trifle." What was involved was an appraisal of the "enemy."

The zealous staffers of the attacker possessed all the data on the defender. Data on territorial defenders were particularly exhaustive. This was not their first encounter, as could be concluded from the operational log, where the column headed "Training Level of Enemy" contained only the words "Solid and stubborn."

The attacker commander therefore decided to deploy his strongest forces on his right flank toward the mountain. After 2 hours, it became clear that this move was a mistake. The territorial defenders came not from the mountains but from the sky, in parachutes. The "trifle" was behind the mistake. The attacker did not know that the enemy had equipped himself for swift, unexpected vertical maneuver since the exercise of the year before last.

The territorial defenders had been in training for this task for a long time at their aviation center. Training for such tasks has long since become part of all components of our armed forces. Not just parachutists but also rocketeers, modellers, glider pilots, and aircraft pilots are being trained at 53 sport flying centers throughout our country. Increasing importance is being ascribed to this type of training, the best evidence for which consists of the funding that has been approved and the increasing scale of participation. Our aviation clubs today possess more than 200 planes, 150 gliders, and 2,500 good-quality parachutes of Yugoslav manufacture. In 1976 alone, 1,041 parachutists made 27,935 jumps under the auspices of their clubs. If we add to this figure the approximately equal number of jumps recorded at exercises by territorial units, then we gain the right impression about the progress of Yugoslav parachute jumping. The ranks of the parachutists themselves have been considerably rejuvenated, several thousand strong. In 1976 alone, 423 young men and women completed parachute training at sport flying clubs,

and 88 of them won permits to compete at sport flying clubs throughout the world. Their ranks include champion parachutists who have won special awards: 46 hold the silver parachutists badge, 25 the gold parachutist badge, and eight the diamond parachutist badge. They play a large role in popularizing this sport, which is so important to defense, among young people. They are an inexhaustible source of recruits for paratroop units for our army and for territorial units.

If a person is to become a devotee of this sport of the brave, one must first of all be a volunteer. Yet such a decision may be taken only after maturity, i.e., past the age of 18. After the first jump has been made, the parachutist must climb toward the sky under the clouds many more times and must jump into the abyss at least 200 times. Parachute jumping is a calling for the brave but also for skillful battlers and defenders of our freedom.

Against Wind and the Clock

After the fourth circling, the needle on the altimeter began to edge toward the second thousand mark. A glance downward, toward the miniature fields and meadows, gave an impression of still greater height. One more circle. The needle on the altimeter stopped wiggling. The jump was to take place from this height.

"Just in case," Ahmed Music tells me jokingly as he tightens my strap, "People only jump here voluntarily."

I did not feel like joking. I glanced again at the abyss. All of a sudden, I remembered everything: the stories about innate fear as the ground rises up to meet your legs, about the courage that is gained, about proving oneself in the struggle against the wind and against the seconds on the clock.

It was time. The first parachutist, Bogdan Balabanovic, was already at the opening. The camera searched in vain for a shadow of fear. After the usual goodbye, the jumps went one after the other as though on a conveyor belt. They were different in form, hand gestures, and goodbyes. There was only one thing held in common: confidence in the package of canvas on their backs, the parachutes.

Zdenka Glazar was third in line. She gave a last look at the clock and at the altimeter--temperature is not vital. Jumping gracefully into the abyss, she pressed the button on the altimeter. We watched her disappear.

"The wind is getting stronger," we heard someone in the plane say. "A delayed jump is the only choice."

The seconds pass. The parachutist is picking up speed. I do not know exactly, perhaps the eye does not observe this, but there is some experience or some logic here that imposes itself on the basis of knowledge about free falls.

Zdenka's parachute has not yet opened up.

Nada Djidova's face is no longer calm. Either because of her jump or because of Zdenka's parachute! Still, there is this indestructible faith in the parachute, in one's own capabilities. Nada, and all the others who are waiting to jump, remain calm while Zdenka bravely and stubbornly struggles with the wind and with the clock.

"Zdenka's parachute has opened up!"

Now Nada has jumped, too. The airplane has entered a new circle, nose down, going after the others.

* * *

Over the airport, once more a handful of grains. As the plane moved away, the kernels grew larger and larger. Zdenka was watching them with the same sureness--just from a different perspective. She recognized them from the color of the canopies as her comrades from the second "wave." We approached her, all in a flush, and asked, "Delayed jump?"

Zdenka glanced at her stopwatch and smiled nicely. "Oh," she said, "there were seconds to spare. No, fear is not in question. Parachutists must conquer fear before they jump. Only the regulations are in question." The brave girl was convincing us.

"Is there uncertainty out there?"

"Less than in an automobile. I always have faith in the parachute. Everything else was just as before. The release handle was in my hands. I was watching the ground. Objects on the ground were becoming clearer and clearer. There was still time to look at my watch. I was at the point where I was supposed to release the parachute. I pulled the handle sharply. The silk slid up like a jet in a water fountain. I sensed that agreeable impact. I instinctively glanced up at the canopy of the parachute--it was whole. I was catching up with Bogdan on the right. There was the usual parachutist greeting. A few seconds later, we were at 'Point Zero.'"

CSO: 2800

END